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Marshal Akhromeyev on Military Restructuring

AU0912103788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Dec 88 pp 1, 4

[Article "especially written for NARODNA ARMIYA" by Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, "Chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR First Deputy Defense Minister": "Restructuring Requires Action"]

[Text] The transition from confrontation to mutual understanding and to negotiations on the reduction of weapons of mass destruction between countries with different social systems is a specific result of the many peace initiatives adopted by the Soviet Union. While it has become possible to alleviate the threat of war, the world situation remains complex and contradictory. The irreversible nature of the positive processes is not yet guaranteed. This is why care for strengthening the defense of the Soviet state should not be diminished.

The orientation of the organization of defense toward standards of quality with respect to technical equipment, the military sciences, and the staff of the USSR Armed Forces assumes particular importance today.

The new thinking is not penetrating army and navy life easily—the outdated, stereotype cliches are still exerting their influence. In the past we were often guided by ideas which, in the long run, were by no means the best; ideas which sometimes involved us in the arms race.

The General Staff today is aware of the need to adopt a new approach in assessing our possible enemies and possible aggression by assessing the existing balance of forces. Errors in evaluating the likely nature of aggression and in forecasting the possible results of such an aggression are always dangerous and, especially given the defensive nature of our strategy, may entail serious consequences. The General Staff has the task of ensuring that this work is of the necessary standard, which makes it possible to make strategic forecasts confidently.

The further improvement of military organization in accordance with the principles of the balance of forces and defense sufficiency and in accordance with the real actions of the United States and NATO is of great importance in the practical development of military doctrine. This question is the most important and the most complicated one. It can be resolved by considering the foreign policy initiatives jointly launched by the USSR and the Warsaw Pact on disarmament and security questions.

The defense orientation in the structure of armed forces is combined with the new means of maintaining military potential at a level that guarantees our country's reliable security under the conditions of the possible reduction of both nuclear and conventional weapons. Under these circumstances the combat effectiveness and the quality of the arms and military equipment deployed in the Army and Navy assume decisive importance, since they permit us to cope with our military tasks with a smaller range of military weapons and equipment.

The most important trend in increasing combat readiness today is the development and improvement of the command [upravlenie] system along the path of increasing its resilience [izdruzhlivost], the automation of communications, and the adaptation of the structure of command organs to the new nature of the tasks.

In light of the requirements of the new military doctrine and of the defense strategy and operational military art stemming from it, the General Staff is orienting the troops toward a serious restructuring in the operational combat and military training of the Army and Navy, toward the creative implementation of new approaches in the process of exercises. All the progress that has already been initiated and achieved in this sector should be vigorously pursued.

The important role of the General Staff in ensuring an effective defense organization, primarily through higher standards, requires the General Staff to adopt a creative approach to decisions of nationwide importance. The guarantee that no errors will be committed in this respect, we see in free, creative discussions and debates, in the exchange of differing views, and even in clashes of opinion. This is the only way to make the most effective use of the General Staff's creative potential. As for the more important questions of principle and long-term significance, democratic discussion of these should be guaranteed at the stage in which they are being developed, with the participation of all those involved, such as generals, admirals, and officers. Practical experience shows that respect for different opinions and for unconventional proposals is likely to produce an effective solution of the problems that emerge and will help the implementation of the current tasks.

Certain influential circles in the West are now more realistic in evaluating the situation in the Soviet Union and within its Armed Forces, as well as the disastrous consequences which the arms race may produce for world peace. Other, no less influential circles, however, relying, as in the past, on the "position of strength" as regards the Soviet Union, are trying to frighten our country and to extort one-sided actions from us. We were able to convince ourselves of this during the recent visit of the Soviet military delegation to the United States. This was confirmed by the negotiations held in August 1988 with U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci. For this reason, it is still necessary to adopt measures that will prevent actions that might involve danger for the USSR and its allies.

Analyst Comments on Gorbachev Arms Proposal
LD0812204588 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Commentary by military analyst Colonel Eduard Asaturov]

[Text] President Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech to the UN General Assembly announced his country's unilateral cuts in armed forces by 500,000 men. Comment is by Colonel Eduard Asaturov, our military analyst:

I can now admit, Eduard Asaturov says, to the issue of cuts being discussed for quite some time among the military. Views varied and apprehensions were voiced. (?Say) the withdrawal of six tank divisions from Eastern Europe followed by their disbandment ought to have raised some brows as to whether such a unilateral move was at all justified. The point is that 10,000 tanks, to be scrapped from Eastern Europe over 2 years, make up half of NATO's current strength. Well, supremacy must go where setting a good example is concerned. Some, especially airmen, doubted whether it was wise to withdraw 800 aircraft at a time when the NATO's combined air force is 1 and ½ times up on the Warsaw Treaty's. Arguments also raised whether Soviet divisions, now deployed in GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary, should each find themselves without dozens of tanks, given that they form the first echelon of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces directly confronting NATO troops.

Some were even worried over the prospect of paratroop and other special units being withdrawn from Europe, since these are among the most mobile troops designed for landing and waging decisive combat operations deep inside an enemy's territory, let alone all of the logistics, without which it is impossible to arrange rapid troop movement across waterways. So opinions varied, but the doubts arose from obsolete and, by now, ossified conceptions. Meanwhile, the pressure for troop redeployment in Europe to be brought into line with the Warsaw Treaty's new defensive doctrine has been decisive.

The announcement on reductions in Asia was laconic, saying there would be substantially less troops there. A sizeable part of the Soviet Army contingent is to be withdrawn from Mongolia. The word substantially in this context, as far as I know, stands for reductions which are no less in importance planned [as heard] for Europe.

One can argue, says Eduard Asaturov, as some do in the West, about the scale of the proposed Soviet cutbacks in the next 2 years. Meanwhile, its offer is unilateral, as the sole aim of troop realignment at levels of rational and realiable sufficiency so that no country has any temptation to forego its own security or that of its allies. [sentence as heard] As a Soviet officer I find Mikhail Gorbachev's idea most impressive, concludes our military analyst Eduard Asaturov.

NATO Reply to Gorbachev Initiatives Sought
LD0812225488 Moscow TASS in English 2235 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

In his address to the United Nations, head of the Soviet state Mikhail Gorbachev announced the Soviet Union's unilateral measures for the reduction of its Armed Forces. These steps by the USSR attest to the implementation of the Soviet Union's new military doctrine, above all, of one of its most important elements—the principle of reasonable defence sufficiency.

This principle presupposes such a structure of the armed forces of states that they would be enough to repulse a possible aggression, but not enough for offensive operations. The principle of reasonable defence sufficiency must be implemented along two lines: by unilateral measures of a state in the area of military development and by joint efforts of states belonging to different military-political groups.

Representatives of the Soviet military leadership declared more than once that the USSR had embarked on altering the organizational structure of the armed forces to impart a defensive character to it, which will take certain time. Attempts are made in the West to call these statements in question. I believe concrete data cited in Mikhail Gorbachev's address should convince all skeptics and undermine any basis for those in the West who deliberately question the Soviet military policy.

Soviet armed forces stationed in the European part of the USSR and in the territories of the Soviet Union's European allies will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems and 800 combat aircraft within the next two years. The armed forces in the Asian part of the USSR will also be reduced significantly. By agreement with the government of the Mongolian People's Republic a major portion of Soviet troops temporarily stationed there will return home. In total, the numerical strength of the Soviet Armed Forces will be unilaterally reduced by 500,000 men.

Of much importance are the decisions to reduce Soviet troops in the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary by 50,000 men, to disband six tank divisions there, reduce 5,000 tanks [as received], withdraw assault landing troops and several other formations and units, including assault crossing units with their weapons and combat equipment and reorganize all Soviet divisions remaining, for the time being, in the territory of our allies, in such a way as to impart defensive character to them. Thus, a zone of reduced level of armaments, from which a substantial amount of conventional armaments regarded as offensive is removed is being formed on the side of the Warsaw Treaty countries in the area of contact of the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty

countries and NATO. Making these steps, the Soviet leadership, undoubtedly, took into consideration definite concern in West European countries over huge scopes of the military confrontation of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Europe.

However, full implementation of the defensive doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency in Europe is possible only on a bilateral basis, by NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. This is why our country and its allies now regard the talks on conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals to be of priority importance for the implementation of the principle of reasonable sufficiency, jointly with the opposing side. The statement of the Warsaw Treaty countries about these future talks expresses the conviction that the main purpose of these talks is mutual radical reduction of the military potential of both alliances and achievement of such a state of things in Europe under which NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty countries would have forces and weapon systems sufficient for defence but insufficient for a surprise attack and offensive operations. Thus it is now up to NATO countries to give a constructive answer to the known proposals of socialist countries for the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe.

INF Treaty, Arms Cut Proposal Praised

LD0812175088 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed in Washington a year ago, on December 8, 1987.

It will not be an overstatement to say that the treaty signified a truly unprecedented breakthrough on the road to a nuclear-weapons free future of humanity. For the first time in history, the two great powers announced the decision to destroy two classes of nuclear missiles, and not for the reason that these weapons have become obsolete but for the reason that they pose a danger to the population of the globe.

Soon after the ratification of the agreement, the sides embarked on the implementation of its provisions. The 1988 treaty signed by General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan embodied for the first time in history the idea of comprehensive control and verification of the observance of all obligations assumed by the sides with broad use of on-site inspections. The implementation of the sides' commitments proceeds normally, in the atmosphere of mutual understanding and in a businesslike way. As many as 67 U.S. "Pershing" missiles and 41 cruise missiles have been destroyed by now. The Soviet Union has eliminated 572 missiles. One of the merits of the INF Treaty is that it brought closer the peoples of the two countries and consolidated their confidence.

The political importance of the INF Treaty is determined by the fact that through the elimination of nuclear weapons it confirms the identity of the destinies of all peoples on the globe, the possibility of further agreements on disarmament, of a decisive turn from the principle of super-arming to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defence. In this sense it is remarkable that on the eve of the first anniversary of the signing of the INF Treaty, the head of the Soviet state Mikhail Gorbachev advanced at the session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York new scopeful peace initiatives, announced the Soviet Union's decision to implement unilaterally a considerable reduction of its armed forces.

The positive changes taking place in the world, the Soviet Union's practical measures to lower the level of military confrontation open to humanity new heartening prospects of advance to a nuclear weapons-free world. It is now important as never that all countries should show goodwill and sincere striving to widely use the rich experience of the implementation of the INF Treaty to achieve other agreements on disarmament, to build on everything positive that has been achieved in the area of international relations in the recent years.

INF Treaty Implementation Proceeds 'Smoothly'

LD0812125088 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—"Practical implementation of the Soviet-American Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles proceeds smoothly with observation of all the provisions of this document," said Major General Vladimir Medvedev, chief of the USSR National Nuclear Risk Reduction Centre.

He told TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev in connection with the first anniversary of the signing of the INF Treaty which is marked today, that the USSR had destroyed 572 missiles—452 combat and 120 dummy rockets, as of December 7. Land-based cruise missiles (80 in all) were destroyed completely.

According to information of the USSR national centre, the U.S. side destroyed some 110 Pershing-1A and Pershing-2 missiles and land-based cruises.

Speaking of measures of control over implementation of the treaty, General Medvedev noted that the U.S. side had carried out 170 and the Soviet side 45 inspections. He made a special mention of 15 inspections on destruction of sites carried out by the U.S. side on the Soviet territory. This means that 15 missile sites ceased to exist in the USSR.

At present there are three U.S. inspection groups in the USSR: one—at a factory in the city of Votkinsk as well as at sites of destruction—Stankovo (Belorussia) and Saryozek (Kazakhstan). The same number of inspection groups is in the USA now: at a factory in Magna (Utah state), in Longhorn and Pueblo.

"Mutual inspections," pointed out General Medvedev, "are being held in the spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation. The sides do not have claims to each other. Technical questions pop up sometimes. We believe that this is quite natural, since the job we are doing now, is new and complicated. These questions are being settled during inspections or at a working level through diplomatic channels."

Missile Withdrawal From Belgium Starts 'Soon'

LD0712232288 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Brussels December 7 TASS—It has been announced here that the withdrawal of U.S. nuclear missiles from the U.S. Air Force Base in Florennes will start soon in accordance with the Soviet-American INF Treaty. A TASS correspondent has been told at the Belgian Ministry of National Defence that the last of 16 Tomahawk cruise missiles will be withdrawn on December 13. All of them will be transported to the United States for subsequent destruction.

Three hundred out of 1,200 American servicemen will remain at the base to provide assistance to Soviet experts exercising control over the observance of terms of the INF Treaty.

It is not known so far how the Florennes base will be used in the future. Talks are under way about the transfer there from West Germany of a training centre for air force pilots of NATO countries. However, the local population opposes these plans. It is believed there that flights of F-16 fighter-bombers, apart from producing much noise, will increase the danger of air crashes. According to another plan, warehouses for U.S. military hardware and weapons will be deployed on the territory of the base.

Vienna Talks on Arms Curbs Continue

PM0812144188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Latest Round"]

[Text] Vienna, 7 Dec— The latest meeting within the framework of the consultations between Warsaw Pact and NATO representatives to elaborate a mandate for future talks on armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals was held here today.

Perfilyev Gives News Briefing 8 Dec

Discusses Earthquake in Armenia

LD0812152588 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—"It is yet difficult to name the exact number of victims of the strongest earthquake in the Transcaucasian region for the last 80 years, but it is already apparent that they run into thousands", Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today. The city of Kirovakan with a population of 170 thousand was in the zone of a severe shock and about 50 per cent of housing there was destroyed. There is considerable devastation also in Leninakan, the city with a population of 290 thousand. Whole villages were destroyed by the earthquake and there is heavy loss of life there. Destruction was caused in Georgia and in Azerbaijan, and also in the northern Caucasus. It is difficult to report specific figures for the reason that the telephone lines in many places are damaged, local communications lines, roads and bridges are destroyed, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. This makes it virtually impossible to collect and summarise the data. A commission of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party headed by Nikolay Ryzhkov left for the disaster area.

Large relief for cities and districts hit by the quake was organized within Armenia and also comes from neighbouring republics, from cities of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Vadim Perfilyev said. The Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Committee urgently sent to Leninakan by a special flight donor blood, medicines to a sum of 146 thousand rubles. Emergency medical teams have been formed. Many Muscovites and people in other Soviet cities, among them a considerable number of medical workers, express the wish to go to the disaster area to give relief to the quake's victims. Funds for relief are already remitted to account number 700302 at the Bank for Home and Social Needs in Yerevan.

Trade unions have provided for victims of the quake 50 thousand places at sanatoria and tourist hotels in resort areas. The trade unions assume all the expenses for their travel and upkeep.

Alongside home guards units and volunteers from the local population, soldiers of the Soviet Army carry out vast work in the areas of Armenia hit by the quake. Several hours after the earth shocks, field medical stations were set up and army surgeons performed a number of complex operations. Soldiers set up points to supply the victims with food. Tents are pitched where the victims can be given temporary shelter. The Moscow and Leningrad military districts sent hundreds of skilled personnel by plane to assist medics.

On Gorbachev UN Address

LD0812155788 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The major address delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations Organization on Wednesday truly galvanized international political life, and this is no exaggeration, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

The ideas voiced in the address on a number of fundamental directors and the initiative concerning a unilateral reduction in Soviet Armed Forces and armaments led to an unprecedented upsurge of collective political thought and through its innovatory nature signified the beginning of transition of the international situation into a different, peaceful dimension.

"Official and public figures and mass media on all continents responded to the Soviet leader's address as a key event of the recent period", Perfilyev pointed out. "For understandable reasons, the greatest attention was attracted by the announcement of a unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 men and for a considerable cut-down in conventional arms. The consensus is: This is a constructive step which will make matters much easier at the forthcoming talks on reductions in the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals".

It is noteworthy that many Western experts, commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's address, suggest the [words indistinct] Soviet Union's courageous decision should not remain without a constructive and similarly important response on the part of NATO states, the more so as the unilateral Soviet cutback practically leads to the loss of even a potential capability for the conduct of offensive operations in Europe.

"One can say in full confidence," Vadim Perfilyev went on to say, "that a reduction in NATO's and WTO's armed forces and conventional arms in Europe is one of key problems in the work for disarmament. A solution to the problem or at least a tangible progress over the issue in the coming years would promote headway in other main areas of disarmament. One should also take it into consideration that the maintenance of the armed forces and conventional arms, which get continuously upgraded, constitutes the bulk of the unceasingly growing military burden on the economies of the countries".

Proceeding from all that, the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Treaty organization consistently press for starting talks without delay to reduce the armed forces and conventional arms in the vast geographical zone stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals.

"The allied states are convinced", emphasized the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, "that the priority aim of the talks is to radically cut down the military potentials of the two alliances and to achieve such a state of affairs on the continent in which NATO and WTO countries would keep forces and systems that are essential for defence but which would be insufficient for a surprise effect or the conduct of offensive operations. This would strengthen the military and political stability and security in Europe in the conditions of the operation of the INF Treaty, would promote further headway along the road (?to) disarmament, the building of confidence, and reduction in the risk of war".

Further on Speech, Akhromeyev

LD0812163288 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The major speech made by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations on Wednesday has galvanised international political life, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said at a briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, emphasised that the ideas related to a number of fundamental issues and the initiative to reduce unilaterally the Soviet Armed Forces and arms, contained in the U.N. address, generated an unprecedented upsurge in the collective political thought and marked the start of the transition of the international situation into another, peaceful plane.

The ministry spokesman noted that the adoption on December 5 by the U.N. General Assembly of the declaration on the prevention and elimination of disputes and situations that might threaten international peace and security substantially consolidated Gorbachev's idea that political and legal methods be made dominant in the handling of outstanding issues.

"In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the adoption of the declaration was an important positive result of the General Assembly session's work, vivid evidence of the fact that, given goodwill and the spirit of cooperation, the states can reach generally acceptable agreements on topical international problems," Perfilyev said.

At the journalists' request, he commented on the recent meeting between the Soviet first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan, Yuliy Vorontsov, and an Afghan opposition delegation led by Rabbani.

The Soviet side, Perfilyev observed, sought to use the meeting for imparting an impetus to Afghan settlement, primarily to ending war, restoring peace and creating a broad-based government in Afghanistan.

In the talks, the Soviet delegation singled out the question of returning the Soviet servicemen who had fallen into the hands of the Afghan opposition, Perfilyev said.

On the situation in Armenia after the earthquake, the ministry spokesman said it was too early to know the exact number of victims. What was clear that there were thousands of casualties. [as received]

The difficulty was due to the fact that telephone lines had been damaged in many places, local communication networks, roads and bridges had been destroyed. This made the gathering and summing up of information practically impossible.

A large-scale relief effort had been launched both inside Armenia and in neighbouring republics, cities in the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, Perfilyev said.

The Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Committee sent on a special plane donor blood and medication worth 146,000 rubles to Leninakan.

The trade unions offered the population from the quake-hit areas 50,000 places at sanatoriums and tourist hotels and decided to pay for their travel and stay there.

The Moscow and Leningrad military districts have sent hundreds of skilled physicians.

Asked by a journalist whether there was any connection between the announced Soviet troop reduction and the retirement of Marshal Akhromeyev, Perfilyev replied: "The changes that occur in our leading military and civilian bodies, when officially announced, are given certain justification. I don't possess such information and would not like to comment on that."

On Vorontsov, Afghan Meeting

LD0812152088 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry today commented on the recent meeting between Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Afghanistan Yuliy Vorontsov and a delegation from the Afghan opposition alliance of seven, headed by [words indistinct].

The meeting in Al-Ta'if, Saudi Arabia, was held by arrangement with Afghan President Najibullah. Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, replying to journalists at today's briefing said that the Soviet side sought to use the meeting for imparting an impetus to Afghan settlement, primarily to ending the war, restoring peace and creating a broad-based government.

The Soviet delegation singled out the question of returning Soviet servicemen who had fallen into the hands of the Afghan opposition.

The sides agreed to continue negotiations in Islamabad. The date of the new meeting will be agreed upon additionally.

Perfilyev announced that during his trip to Saudi Arabia, Vorontsov was received in its capital Riyadh by King Fahd. During the conversation the Soviet diplomat thanked the Saudi Government for its constructive peace efforts that resulted in the organisation of the Al-Ta'if meeting.

Vorontsov returned to Moscow on Wednesday, and left for Kabul on the same day.

On Proposals for Afghan Settlement

LD0812170088 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The provisions expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations regarding Afghan settlement are aimed above all at putting an end to bloodletting in Afghanistan as soon as possible, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today.

He rejected the assertions that the Soviet Union's proposals are aimed at the backing of Najibullah's regime. "Afghanistan's current leadership is the leadership having vast potentialities, powerful armed forces. It is capable to continue armed struggle", the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "However, this leadership, just as the Soviet Union, declares in favour of peace, for an end to military operations."

As to the policy of national reconcilation which is vigorously supported by the USSR, it presupposes the creation of virtually a new broad-based leadership. It stands to reason that this is a matter of Afghans themselves, of all Afghans interested in the settlement of the Afghan problem. The Soviet Union helps Afghans to reach agreement and find solutions, and a circle of persons who could be involved in the quest of such ways is very broad, Vadim Perfilyev said.

He noted that with the beginning of the talks of the USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov with leaders of the Peshawar opposition, combat operations of the armed opposition lessened considerably. The number of shellings and raids of rebels on strategically important cities decreased.

At the same time the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman reported that according to the information from Kabul, in a district controlled by the armed opposition in Kapesa Province on November 29, an armed group of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan laid an ambush, fired pointblank and killed 13 foreign advisers, among them six Americans, two Frenchmen, two Pakistanis and three Arabs. The aim of the ambush was to seize a large sum of cash and contemporary weapons from the advisers.

Carlucci NATO Speech Shows 'Double Standard'

PM0712095588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 First Edition p 5

[Military observer Vladimir Chernyshev "TASS: Commentary for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "The Pentagon Chief's Obsolete Cliches"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci addressed an international symposium in Washington the other day commemorating the upcoming 40th anniversary of NATO, and tried to plan the North Atlantic Alliance's future "agenda." While forced to acknowledge the present realities in the world, in particular the "promising changes in the Soviet Union" and the need for "vigorous action" by NATO in the arms control sphere, the U.S. representative steeped his entire speech in the traditional "Atlantic" spirit. His so-called "agenda" for NATO amounted to demands for the further strengthening of the bloc's military machine, the buildup and modernization of armaments, increased expenditure by U.S. allies for military purposes, and maintenance of the "flexible response" strategy.

A particularly surprising element of his speech was the "double standard" he preached with regard to the United States and the USSR, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Judging by what he says, NATO had the right to take into account in its military development the potential of the opposing side, but Carlucci denies the Warsaw Pact countries that very same right. He complains that there have been no changes in Warsaw Pact armaments or in the deployment of Warsaw Pact armed forces, although, as is known, nothing has changed in this sphere on the NATO side either. In the light of these claims, what price his rhetoric "about implementing considerable—from the military viewpoint—reductions on the basis of equality and stability"? After all, it is perfectly clear that the reduction of armed forces, changes in their structure and deployment, and the full implementation of the defensive doctrine are possible only on a bilateral basis, without any attempts to outwit and outmaneuver the other side. That is why talks on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals—are by and large a priority for the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

But the Pentagon chief again spoke of the need for NATO to continue to have modernized armed forces, irrespective of the future character or combat deployment of the Soviet Armed Forces. The question arises: Does then the Pentagon need these future talks, envisaging the elimination of imbalance and asymmetry on both sides, a substantial reduction of forces and armaments, and a change in the structure and deployment of both sides' armed forces, in such a way that they are sufficient for defense only and not for waging offensive actions? Evidently it does not need them, since in any case, according to Carlucci, all these parameters must remain unchanged as far as NATO armed forces are concerned. Moreover, he would like to see unilateral disarmament

by the Soviet Union, with a further buildup of combat might by the North Atlantic bloc countries. But it is obviously futile to expect this.

The U.S. secretary tried to frighten the U.S. allies with irksome statements to the effect that the USSR's chief strategic aims are to bring about the collapse of NATO and make the Western countries relax their defense effort. But the socialist countries have put forward a program for the reduction of armed forces and armaments that is not unilateral for NATO, but is a mutual program for the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO, and whose implementation would enable both the East and the West to in fact relax their military efforts. As for the "disintegration of NATO," here, too, Carlucci is clearly at odds with reality: The goal of the USSR and its allies is the elimination of both the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO, and the establishment of a system of all-embracing security.

What does the Pentagon chief want with all these arguments? The answer to this question will be found in his speech. The Western public, Carlucci complains, reacts sharply to the "essential modernization of NATO nuclear forces"—in its submission, the "Soviet military threat" has eased. He candidly admits that he cannot offer "any secret formula" to "overcome these obstacles." So he has to employ long obsolete cliches and stereotypes.

CEMA Accepts EC Proposal for Meeting

LD0812172188 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) has tentatively accepted a proposal made by the European Economic Community (EEC) to hold a meeting of lawyers and specialists in Moscow in the first quarter of next year to discuss the powers and responsibilities of the two international organisations. The suggestion was made at the Brussels meeting of the experts from the two organizations.

Stefan Zawodzinski, CMEA deputy secretary who led the CMEA delegation at the meeting, said in a TASS interview that "the joint work of lawyers and specialists may have a positive effect on accelerating steps of practical cooperation".

"It is known that CMEA and EEC have different spheres of reponsibility but this should not serve as an obstacle to the identification of areas and forms of multilateral cooperation", Zawodzinski emphasised. "In particular, we suggested eight areas in which there are quite a number of problems requiring joint efforts: ecology, energetics [as received] nuclear power engineering, science and technology, transport, statistics, standardisation, and long-term forecasting. If specialists in this or that field meet and determine a subject or project for joint action, the CMEA Secretariat will obtain the appropriate powers from member-countries."

Stefan Zawodzinski holds that "the meeting in Brussels served as yet another step forward in the relationship between the CMEA and EEC".

His opinion is that the main thing now is to identify areas for possible multilateral cooperation. As far as CMEA is concerned, it is open to discussion not only on the eight suggested areas but also on others which may have problems requiring mutual solution.

United States & Canada

Further on Gorbachev United Nations Visit

Meets With UN Secretary General

PM0812200588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With J. Perez de Cuellar"]

[Text] On the morning of 7 December, prior to his speech at the UN General Assembly session, M.S. Gorbachev had a coversation with UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar at UN Headquarters.

The interlocutors noted that the situation in the world is now more conducive to the work of the United Nations, and spoke about the role which the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations has played in this. Perez de Cuellar emphasized the Soviet leadership's contribution to the improvement of the international political climate and the strengthened effectiveness and viability of the United Nations.

M.S. Gorbachev told him briefly about the questions which he intended to highlight in his speech at the General Assembly. He expressed gratitude to the UN secretary general for his support for Soviet international initiatives based on the new thinking. He also rated positively the growing involvement of the United Nations in the settlement of regional conflicts.

The interlocutors exchanged opinions on the current state of affairs in this sphere. The realism demonstrated by the PLO was noted in particular. However, M.S. Gorbachev said, the other side—Israel—has so far failed to come up with an equivalent response. However, we are hoping that this cannot go on for long; the situation must emerge from the impasse, and there is no alternative to an international conference. In this respect joint or parallel efforts on the part of the USSR and the United States, other members of the Security Council, and European and other countries are of utmost importance.

Perez de Cuellar, referring to the mandate of the General Assembly November resolution, declared his wish to personally make a most active contribution to the process of normalization in Afghanistan. M.S. Gorbachev backed his intention.

The urgent need for multilateral cooperation with regard to the economic situation in the "Third World" was noted. It is important, M.S. Gorbachev said in this context, for the West to stop being alarmed whenever the Soviet Union raises this question. The Soviet Union has no "subversive" intentions in this respect; it is a global problem which can only be resolved through internationalization and responsible cooperation at the level of the world community.

In conclusion M.S. Gorbachev assured Perez de Cuellar that the Soviet Union will always be on the side of the United Nations and will support it in all its undertakings.

E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, and A.M. Belonogov were present.

Yakovlev Meets New York Public

PM0912111388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report on CPSU Central Committee Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev's 7 December meeting with the New York public, headlined "Meeting With Public"—New York, 8 December]

[Text] The peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union have accumulated more than enough fears, mistrust, and prejudices with which they should do away. This idea keynoted a meeting held on Wednesday between Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and members of the New York public.

During a lively dialogue co-sponsored by the U.S. mass organization Sane Freeze and local religious organizations, he noted that everyone needs above all to gradually free themselves from fear and to rid themselves of weapons. In this connection A.N. Yakovlev highly appraised the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush. Relations between the leaders of the two countries are becoming more open, sincere, and frank with every next meeting. A considerable way was traversed. The word continuity was the key word of the present meeting. "This is very important for our nations," he noted.

"At home we live today a full, interesting, rich, and free life," he said. "We do not want to teach anybody and we study ourselves. The only thing we do not like is to be instructed by others. Not much time will elapse, and we shall see how ridiculous, maybe phony and unfounded some phenomena can be which we witness these days. Take, for instance, such phenomenon of the present-day life as force. Seeking possibly to convince somebody, some people say that it is necessary to use force, to apply pressure, that it is necessary to have a host of missiles to force the other side to some concessions, and so on. If we are to continue this crude logic, it will turn out that the more we want to score successes in international life and disarmament, the more missiles and all other things should be stockpiled."

"Surely we, the children of the earth, are not that stupid? Surely we have earned a better approach, a more respectful assessment of us, of human beings? Is it not time for

everyone, and above all for us in the Soviet Union, and you in the United States, to think seriously about the destiny of mankind and to renounce in perpetuity the principle of force, the principle of pressure, and other confrontationist principles that have comprised the basis of thinking in recent decades?

"Now we are living by restructuring in our country," noted Yakovlev. "This is a serious and long-term policy, guided by which we want to bring the Soviet Union to the frontier in the economy, morals, and democracy. We are sure that we will achieve these aims. But domestic policy cannot be pursued in isolation from international affairs. This is an axiom that any foreign policy starts at home."

IZVESTIYA on News Briefing

PM0812160188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed account of the 7 December news conference held by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, entitled "News Conference in New York"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, held a news conference Wednesday evening, at which he made the following statement:

On behalf of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev I want to inform you that a devastating earthquake with very grave consequences struck the Transcaucasian republics. According to tentative figures, thousands of people died in the Armenian SSR. I cannot give you a more accurate figure for obvious reasons. There has been severe destruction. It is a most grave misfortune. It is a tragedy not only for the Armenian people but for all the people of the Soviet Union.

Emergency measures are being taken to help those people who have suffered because of the earthquake and the cities and villages that have been affected. A special government commission to oversee disaster relief was set up and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was appointed to head it.

In spite of the fact that all necessary measures are being taken to overcome the grave consequences of the disaster, Gorbachev believes that when a people is in trouble, he has to be at home and he has to lead the efforts—these very important efforts—himself. For this reason we have to cut short this visit and return home.

The planned events to involve the general secretary have been cancelled, with the exception of the opening of an exhibition of the USSR's export goods, which will be held at a different level. As for the visits to Cuba and Britain, they will be paid later, at a suitable time. In conclusion, let me, on behalf of our delegation and on behalf of Mikhail Gorbachev, who asked me to say this, to convey to you our very profound gratitude to all New Yorkers who have been these 36 hours extremely hospitable, very friendly and warm to our delegation.

I would also like to extend our gratitude to the authorities of the city of New York and to the United States administration.

Eduard Shevardnadze replied to journalists' questions.

Question: Has the U.S. Administration been informed about the change in the general secretary's plans, and what has been its reaction? Are you prepared in this situation to accept help from the United States?

Answer: The administration has already been informed about this. As far as help is concerned, it is difficult to speak about this at the moment. I must tell you that during the summit meeting, when we still did not know about any victims but knew there had been serious damage, President Reagan and Vice President Bush expressed their sympathy to us.

Question: Is Mr Gorbachev going directly from here to the disaster area?

Answer: Evidently, we will stop over in Moscow. From there Mikhail Sergeyevich will fly to Yerevan.

Question: What information do you have about the scale of the destruction? Which towns suffered the most?

Answer: We know many people have been killed. As I have already said: thousands. Leninakan and the populated areas adjacent to it particularly suffered. There has also been destruction in other Transcaucasian republics, Georgia and Azerbaijan, as well as in the northern Caucasus. It is probable that Turkey has also suffered, but I have no precise information about this.

Question: Can you be a little more precise about the time of Gorbachev's departure?

Answer: We are flying tomorrow, in the first half of the day, and tomorrow we will also be in Moscow.

Question: When did the earthquake happen?

Answer: Yesterday.

Question: Can you say how well the local authorities are coping with taking care of the earthquake's aftermath? What kind of medical assistance is being given to those who have suffered?

Answer: I have already said that extraordinary measures are being taken. A governmental commission has been set up. Representatives of the Soviet leadership are at the disaster site. Comrade Ryzhkov, council of ministers chairman, has flown to Yerevan. As far as medicines,

construction supplies, and other materials and means necessary to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake are concerned, no problems will arise for us here.

Question: Is there any information as to the force of the earthquake?

Answer: According to the data we have, the epicenter is in Armenia and the force of the underground tremor registered 8 on the Richter scale. In Georgia and Azerbaijan it registered at 6. A Richter scale measure of 8 is great.

Question: Were there additional tremors? Are earth tremors continuing?

Answer: According to my information, no. But it is not out of the question that they may be repeated.

Question: How often are you receiving reports from Moscow or from the region of the earthquake?

Answer: We are constantly receiving reports. The problem, however, is that communications with many towns and populated areas have been broken.

Question: When did Gorbachev first hear about this, and when did he decide to break off his visit?

Answer: We heard about this this morning, but at that time we had no information about victims. We received more precise information after Mikhail Sergeyevich's speech at the UN General Assembly session.

Question: You said President Reagan and Vice President Bush had expressed their sympathy. Could you say in greater detail in what form? Did they offer help in case it is required?

Answer: This question was not discussed because we ourselves did not know the number of casualties and the extent of damage. Even now we do not have full information.

Question: If the scale of damage is colossal, are you prepared to ask the United States or other countries for help?

Answer: I think we will not ask. Any country may show initiative. I think this is people's moral duty. For instance, we, as a rule, always help when peoples find themselves in trouble. I must say that our country has the necessary resources to help the Armenian people to restore everything that has been destroyed. The most terrible fact is that people have died, thousands and thousands of people. This is an irreplacable loss.

Question: Do you have any information regarding possible destruction involving, say, large chemical enterprises or, perhaps, an atomic power station?

Answer: I know that information about that had been sought. The Yerevan Atomic Power Station had not been damaged. Large industrial chemical enterprises also seem to have escaped damage.

Question: Today the general secretary spoke about a new stage in East-West relations. Do you not think that this sudden departure is, to a degree, politically detrimental?

Answer: However that may be, I will say straight: If we did not return now, it would be amoral and difficult to understand.

TV Carries News Conference

LD0812151088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0754 GMT 8 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; "excerpt" of news conference by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in New York on 7 December on change in Gorbachev agenda following earthquake in Armenia; unidentified reporters' questions in English with simultaneous translation into Russian]

[Text] [Video shows Shevardnadze, Gerasimov, and Gorbachev's translator seated at table addressing journalists] [Shevardnadze] I am very sorry to put you to this trouble at so late an hour. However, we had no other option. At the instruction of Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, I wish to announce that a strong earthquake has taken place in the Transcaucasian republics with very grave consequences. According to preliminary data, thousands of people have died in the Armenian Republic. Unfortunately I cannot at this stage, due to obvious reasons, give you an exact figure. There is a great deal of destruction. It is indeed a calamity, a tragedy; a tragedy not only for the Armenian people but also a tragedy and a calamity for all the peoples of the Soviet Union. I want to report that extraordinary measures are being taken to render assistance to those citizens who have suffered, to the towns and villages that have suffered.

A special government commission has been set up. It is headed by Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Despite this, and in spite of the fact that all essential measures to overcome these grave consequences are being taken, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev feels that when the people are in trouble, he has to be on the spot and take direct charge of this very responsible work.

In this connection, we are compelled to break our trip short and to return home tomorrow. The events that have been planned with the participation of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary are being cancelled, except for the opening of an exhibition of the USSR's export goods that will take place at another level.

As for the visits to Cuba and Great Britain, they will take place later, at an appropriate time. And in conclusion, allow me, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, and on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's instructions, to address, through you, all the inhabitants of New York with words of the most profound gratitude; for a day and a half they have exhibited amazing hospitality, warmth, and friendship toward our delegation.

I also address words of gratitude to the municipal authorities of New York and to the U.S. Administration.

[Correspondent] Two questions. Has the U.S. Administration been informed of the change in the general secretary's plans? If so, what was the reaction? Secondly, are you, in this situation, ready to accept U.S. aid?

[Shevardnadze] The administration has been informed. Well, Comrade Dubinin, our ambassador, is sitting here. He was instructed and, as far as I know, he has already made his telephone call. As for aid, it is now difficult to speak of this.

I should, however, tell you that today, during the summit meeting, when we were still unaware of the fact that there are casualties and we were unaware of the fact that there is serious destruction, the President, Mr Reagan, and the vice president, Mr Bush, conveyed, respectively, their condolences.

[Correspondent] Do you know if Mr Gorbachev is traveling directly to the zone of the calamity?

[Shevardnadze] In all probability we will land in Moscow and from Moscow he will depart by air to Yerevan.

[Correspondent] You said that for the time being, it was premature to give exact figures of the number of victims. But all the same, can you tell us what information you do have, what towns specifically have suffered, and so on?

[Shevardnadze] We know that a very great number of people have died. As I said, thousands. As we reported, the town Leninakan suffered particularly, as did the populated settlements adjoining this town. Incidentally, there is destruction in other Transcaucasian republics, too—Georgia, Azerbaijan, and even Northern Caucasus. Apparently Turkey was also affected.

[Correspondent] Can you assure us, Mr Minister, that the crux of the matter is precisely in the earthquake, rather than in some internal problems, so to speak, and that it is precisely because of that that (?Comrade Gorbachev is returning home)?

[Shevardnadze] I am sorry, but this is not a serious question.

[Correspondent] Will any members of the general secretary's delegation be left behind here for some events, or is it that the entire delegation is returning to Moscow?

[Shevardnadze] Almost all the members of the delegation are going back.

[Correspondent] Are you returning?

[Shevardnadze] Yes. We have no choice but to return.

[Correspondent] You said that President Reagan and Vice President Bush expressed condolences. Can you tell us in greater detail in what form? Did they offer help if necessary?

[Shevardnadze] This question was not discussed. This is because we ourselves did not know, as it were, the number of casualties, the degree of destruction.

[Correspondent] Well, but if you discover that the scale of destruction is colossal, will you be ready to ask the United States, or other countries, for help?

[Shevardnadze] I think we will not be asking. Any country can show initiative. I think that this is, as it were, a moral duty of peoples. We, for instance, always, as a rule, help when peoples turn out in such... [changes thought] But I must say that our country has at its disposal the essential resources to help the Armenian people restore everything that has been destroyed. The most terrible thing is that people have lost their lives. And thousands, thousands have died. This is a loss that cannot be compensated.

[Correspondent] The general secretary spoke today of the new stage in relations between East and West. Do you not think that this sudden departure is, to some degree, politically detrimental?

[Shevardnadze] Well, whether or not that is the case, let me say outright that if we failed to return now, it would be amoral, and incomprehensible.

Reagan Telephones Gorbachev

LD0812210688 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 8 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan has expressed condolences to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in connection with the earthquake in Armenia.

The White House announced officially today that before Mikhail Gorbachev's departure from New York Reagan telephoned him and said: "I fully understand that you have no choice but to return to your own country and be with your people following the early-morning earthquake. I know I speak for all Americans when I express my deep personal sorrow at the loss of life caused by this

earthquake. We understand that it was a very serious one. If there is any way we can be of assistance, either bilaterally or through the international community, please let me know."

Gorbachev Departs New York

LD0812213088 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev made a brief statement today before his departure for home.

"I have to cut short this visit and return to the Soviet Union because late last night I was told that the earthquake that struck Armenia was extremely severe and had extremely grave consequences [and] had caused devastation and great loss of life. So I urgently have to return to the Soviet Union. A government commission is already at work headed by the prime minister of the Soviet Union who is in the disaster area. Urgent measures should be taken to help all those affected by this terrible tragedy.

This morning I had telephone conversations with President Reagan and Vice-President Bush. Both of them expressed profound condolences on behalf of the American people to those affected and to the government and people of the Soviet Union. I thanked them on behalf of the Soviet people. Let me extend our profound appreciation. The president and the vice-president conveyed their willingness to provide assistance and appropriate help in this situation. I would like to thank them and I would like to thank the American people for their readiness to give assistance in this difficult hour.

As it turned out we only had one working day in New York, but we believe that this was a very important day. We were able to set out our views at the United Nations on the world today and on prospects for world. [sentence as received] The United Nations is an organisation which we value very highly and whose role we believe will grow with the development of new international relations. We also were able to have a number of useful exchanges at the United Nations to talk to representatives of many countries. We appreciate that. We feel that they understand what we said at the United Nations.

I had a meeting with President Reagan and Vice-President, President-elect George Bush and members of the current and future U.S. Administration. We and the American side shared the view that this was a very important meeting which illustrates the high level of Soviet-American relations. It is now possible to discuss key problems affecting the contemporary international situation, to look for ways of improving international relations as a whole. This meeting was held in a good atmosphere, an open and trustful atmosphere. We believe that it was characterised by a readiness to understand the positions of each other. Yesterday when I was asked to describe in one word the essence and the main motive of the meeting I said that the word was continuity. So that meeting yesterday and the telephone conversations that we had today when we also briefly discussed our future cooperation make the Soviet Union and the United States confident that our relations will expand and improve on the basis of cooperation and mutual respect for each other's interests and also taking into account our responsibilities to other nations.

I think I would be failing in my duty if I went home without saying how much we are grateful to New Yorkers for the hospitality and feelings of friendship that they have been expressing during my visit. We believe that this may have been one of the most important things that happened on this day of our stay in America. This shows increased and increasing respect and friendliness and willingness to cooperate on the part of both the Soviet people and the American people.

The road ahead will be tough but we will go ahead and we will I believe be building on what has already been achieved. If we continue to act in this way and also maybe add something new I think we could open up good prospects for our two peoples which would be extremely important for the world as well. Good-bye and thank you.

Shevardnadze, Yakovlev Leave

LD0812190888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] New York, 8 Dec (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who had participated in the work of the 43d UN General Assembly session, departed for Moscow today. The program for his stay in New York was broken off in connection with the earthquake in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The visits to Cuba and Great Britain were also cancelled.

E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Foreign Affairs Minister, and A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, departed with him.

American Leaders' Reactions to Gorbachev Visit

Reagan Cited on Talks

PM0812162588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Realism, Boldness"]

[Text] New York, 8 Dec—After the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Presidium, President Reagan, and Vice President Bush, Reagan told journalists: I view this meeting as very positive. Its main result was to continue what has been achieved and to pass the baton to the next administration.

Answering journalists' questions on how he regards the Soviet decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces and the volume of its conventional arms, the President said: I wholeheartedly welcome this decision. Further on he noted that the United States "will continue to discuss this question and will definitely make the appropriate adjustments if it turns out that the Soviet decision leads to U.S. superiority, which we do not seek."

Reagan later spoke at the American Enterprise Institute, where he described his meeting in New York with M.S. Gorbachev.

"Our discussions were frank, as usual, and were held in a cordial atmosphere, and I was glad of this opportunity to meet with President Gorbachev one last time before I leave office," Reagan said.

"We paid special attention," he went on, "to what was achieved during our last meeting in Moscow, and to what has to be done in the future. I expressed to President Gorbachev my confidence that the work which we began together in Geneva in 1985 will continue under the Bush administration. I stressed in particular the significance of the human rights problem in U.S.-USSR relations.

"I told the president that we Americans welcome the changes which he has begun in the Soviet Union and hope that considerably more will and must be done for the good of the Soviet people, as well as for the good of relations between our countries.

"We analyzed progress in the arms control sphere, in the settlement of regional conflicts, and in our bilateral relations. I believe that we both expressed satisfaction at what we have achieved in recent years. But we were also aware that fundamental differences persist between our countries in many spheres, and that in the months and years ahead both sides will have to make purposeful efforts to overcome those differences."

Speaking about the USSR's decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces and conventional arms, the President stated that "if it is implemented promptly and fully this step will go down in history as an important and significant one."

"Today," Reagan stressed, "we are hoping for a new era, but we will not forget that if we are indeed going to enter the new era this will not happen of its own accord. It will be the result of hard work, resolve, and sacrifices. At this critically important juncture our obligations grow more, not less, serious."

In conversation with reporters, Vice President Bush said among other things that during the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev he stated his desire to "develop the progress achieved by the Reagan administration." He noted that the meeting had been "good and productive" and "had been as good as could have been expected."

Mr Gorbachev, Bush went on to say, is committed to change. He has a good relationship with President Reagan. He was taking his leave of a man with whom he has cooperated very closely.

Answering a question on his view of the new Soviet initiative, Bush stated: "This is a good decision. We must look at the specifics of it, but in principle a comparatively significant unilateral reduction is a good thing. It will not lead to a balance of forces, but nevertheless it is a step forward. It is to be welcomed as a positive step."

M.S. Gorbachev's address to the United Nations has been highly rated by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

At a press conference on the results of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and President Reagan and Vice President George Bush, he noted that the Soviet leader had in his UN speech "touched on all the key questions" featuring on the international community's agenda. He described the speech as "very useful" and said that the U.S. Administration will be studying all aspects of it most carefully.

Shultz said that the United States "welcomes" the Soviet Union's decision to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

The secretary of state reported that the meeting between the USSR and U.S. leaders was held in a constructive and amicable atmosphere.

Describing the present state of Soviet-American relations and East-West relations as a whole, Shultz said that the world "has changed enormously for the better."

Reagan, Bush Cited on Initiative

PM0812213588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 First Edition p 7

[V. Gan dispatch "From Washington"]

[Text] Washington's political circles, which are by no means prone to sentimentality, embarked without delay on interpreting the vivid historic events which took place in New York 7 December. Three hours after his return to the capital President R. Reagan made a speech at the American Manufacturers Institute, in which he described the "frank and cordial discussions" which he and Vice-President Bush had had with M.S. Gorbachev. In the words of the President, these discussion had encompassed the whole agenda of relations with the

Soviet Union—what was achieved at the meeting in Moscow, and what is yet to be achieved in the future. "I told President Gorbachev that I am confident that the work we began in Geneva in 1985 will be continued by the Bush administration," R. Reagan said.

We both, he said, "expressed satisfaction at what we have achieved in recent years. However, we also admitted that fundamental differences remain between our countries in many spheres, and that resolute efforts to eliminate these differences will be needed in the coming months and years." On the subject of the Soviet announcement of unilateral force and arms reductions the President said the following: "I can only say that if they are carried out swiftly and in full, history will view this as an important, substantial step." "Today's meeting," R. Reagan added, "was devoted to deliberations and continuity."

The word "continuity" rang out several times today in G. Bush's remarks as well. On his return to Washington from New York he told correspondents: "I told the general secretary clearly that I want to build on the progress achieved by the Reagan administration." As regards his attitude toward the new Soviet initative, G. Bush said: "It is a good decision. We will have to look at its specific details. However, in principle a relatively significant unilateral reduction is a good thing. We welcome it as a positive step."

The first reaction of the U.S. lawmakers was also positive. Senator C. Levin, member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, described the planned reduction of Soviet forces and armaments as "substantial from the military viewpoint." In the opinion of Senator B. Bradley it is a "constructive and desirable step."

A CNN television network commentator made an original assessment of the results of this important day: "If someone had just spent some time on Mars and had returned to Earth today asking himself what is happening in the USSR and what the Soviet leadership is planning to do, M.S. Gorbachev's speech would have answered all his questions. His announcement of force and armament reductions is part of a plan to build a more stable peace.... And if at this moment you can hear that people on our planet are breathing more easily, then this has probably happened because the people have realized which road is being pointed out to them. Peace—that is the road we all want to travel...."

Reagan Discusses Relations

LD0912074388 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 9 TASS—President Ronald Reagan gave his last televised news conference at the White House Thursday night, speaking mostly of U.S.-Soviet relations.

"It was exactly one year ago today that an event here in this room spoke to the epoch-making nature of what has been achieved—the signing of the first treaty to eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles," the head of the U.S. administration said in his introductory statement.

"Even in the short year since then we've had the Moscow summit and Mr Gorbachev's visit here."

The president pointed out that "we've seen a serious movement and even breakthroughs" in many areas of U.S.-Soviet relations.

Reagan said the Soviet leader's address to the United Nations "was not only a part of this process, it was the result of this process, and I congratulate him on it".

The president said that in parting in New York with Gorbachev, who had to return to the Soviet Union in connection with an earthquake in Armenia, he presented him a photo made during their Geneva summit with the following inscription: "We have walked a long way together to clear a path for peace. Geneva 1985—New York 1988".

Reagan said that in a phone conversation he had conveyed to the Soviet leader "the deep sympathy of the American people and our anxiousness to provide any humanitarian assistance we possibly can."

"The nature of President Gorbachev's departure is unfortunate and provides a sad final note to what has been an otherwise successful, happy and historic visit to the United States," Reagan said.

At the same time, the U.S. President called on the Americans to "remain resolute and without illusion." He said "we must speak candidly about fundamental points of difference" between the two systems.

Reagan also called for maintaining the U.S. military strength and continuing at the same time "vigorous diplomatic engagement."

George Shultz Assesses Speech

LD0812152788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has given a high appraisal of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations. At a press conference on the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachav's meeting with President Reagan and Vice President Bush, he noted that in his speech at the United Nations the Soviet leader touched upon all the key questions on the world community's agenda. He described this speech as very useful, and said that the U.S. Administration would be studying all of its aspects most thoroughly.

Shultz stated that the United States welcomes the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its Armed Forces and conventional weapons in Europe. The secretary of state said that the meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders took place in a constructive and pleasant atmosphere.

Summing up the present state of Soviet-U.S. relations and East-West relations as a whole, Shultz said that the world has changed immensely for the better.

Foreign Leaders, Media React to Gorbachev Speech

Thatcher 'Warmly' Welcomes Cuts

LD0712204488 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] London December 7 TASS—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher "warmly welcomed" Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's announcement at the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session of the Soviet Union's decision to cut unilaterally its Armed Forces.

The ITV television network quoted the head of the British government as saying in a statement that the Soviet decision was an "important step" toward establishing a balance of forces in Europe.

Castro Conveys Condolences

LD0912020688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2119 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Havana, 8 Dec (TASS)—At a news conference here, a message was read out that Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, chairman of the Cuban State Council and Council of Ministers, sent today to M.S. Gorbachev:

Dear Comrade Gorbachev!

On behalf of our people I want to express to you and the Soviet people our most deep condolences in connection with the casualties and destruction caused by the earthquake in vast regions of the southern USSR.

We understand the need for your immediate return home, although we were waiting for you with immense enthusiasm and the most ardent sentiments of hospitality and friendship, especially since we realized the importance of your visit for deepening our exchanges and developing our relations.

Great efforts were expanded in preparing all the details of the visit, but we do not consider the efforts superfluous because we expect your visit will take place as soon as circumstances allow.

I would like to collaborate with the Soviet people to help alleviate the consequences of the earthquake.

Many workers are being sent from various corners of the USSR to help reconstruction in the region. We could form a team of Cuban construction workers and send it to help the reconstruction effort. This would become a new form of international solidarity, in which small countries like Cuba could take part, which would worthily correspond to the spirit of humane relations between peoples, for which you resolutely call in your tireless struggle for peace.

Your speech at the United Nations Organization made a big impression. It is gratifying for me to think at least that important goal of your trip (?was) fulfilled.

Fraternally,

Fidel Castro Ruz.

PRC 'Hails' Troop Withdrawal

LD0812153988 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing December 8 TASS—China hails the new Soviet peace initiatives set out in the speech by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the U.N. General Assembly, said Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Li Zhaoxing at a briefing on Thursday for Chinese and foreign journalists.

Gorbachev said in his U.N. speech on December 7 that the USSR would withdraw some of its troops from Eastern Europe and a considerable number of troops from Mongolia. This is a positive development and China welcomes it, said the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Japan's Takeshita Welcomes Cuts

LD0812091288 Moscow TASS in English 0734 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo December 8 TASS—Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita of Japan today welcomed the Soviet Union's decision to cut its armed forces by 500,000 people in the next two years, which was announced by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in his speech at the United Nations.

Responding to journalists' questions in parliament, the head of the Japanese Government described this decision as 'very positive.'

FRG Foreign Minister Cited

LD0812213688 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn December 8 TASS—The new chapter in the history of disarmament process, this is how the Soviet peace initiatives set out in Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the 43rd session of the United Nations General

Assembly were summed up by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG foreign minister. The Soviet leader's statement that the numerical strength of the Soviet armed forces will be reduced by 500,000 men within the next two years, the USSR's decision to withdraw six tank divisions from the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary attest to Moscow's striving for disarmament, Hans-Dietrich Genscher said in an interview to Deutschlandfunk Radio station today.

The Soviet initiatives will also give a strong impetus to future talks on the reduction of military arsenals between East and West, Genscher said. He said that old thinking still existing in some measure in the West should now be discarded. Dwelling on the plans of definite NATO circles to modernize nuclear weapons of the North Atlantic Bloc deployed in Western Europe, the head of the FRG Foreign Policy Department said that the decision on this matter will be made after a NATO overall concept on the problems of arms control and disarmament is worked out.

Bulgarian Television Reports

LD0812115388 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia December 8 TASS—Announcer of the evening information programme of the Bulgarian television described Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the United Nations Organisation as the main event of the day. He emphasized the importance and topicality of the Soviet leader's proposals made from the rostrum of the most prestigious international organisation.

The analysis of the developments in the world today, the need for deideologisation of international relations, the readiness for a substantial reduction of Armed Forces and armaments and the establishment of the roads of the solution of problems of the developing countries, of regional conflicts, will undoubtedly remain in the focus of attention of political, business and military circles, of the public of various countries, it was noted in Bulgarian television programme.

Commentator Posner on Speech

PM0812120988 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Interview with Soviet commentator Vladimir Posner in New York by Charles Wheeler, monitored in progress during the "Newsnight" program; following Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations 7 Dec—recorded]

[Text] [Wheeler] Watching the speech with me was a member of Mr Gorbachev's entourage, the commentator Vladimir Posner. The troop cuts in Europe—10,000 tanks, 800 aircraft, and so on—is that a substantive cut? Have you any idea of the percentage?

[Posner] I'm afraid I can't give you a percentage of that, but I do think it's substantive. I mean, 5,000 tanks in the allied countries and 5,000 in the European part of the Soviet Union, I think 10,000 tanks for any country is quite a cut.

[Wheeler] Now he stressed this was a unilateral move.

[Posner] Yes.

[Wheeler] What will be the Soviet reaction if NATO says, "Well, we're not going to meet that because the balance is entirely in the Warsaw Pact's favor."

[Posner] I have no doubt that this is unilateral. It's a decision that's been taken, it's been weighed, and I don't even think that the issue of how NATO reacts to that is one of the factors. We're going to do it.

[Wheeler] The conversion of defense plants...

[Posner, interrupting] Yes.

[Wheeler] ...to civilian production...

[Posner, interrupting] Yes.

[Wheeler] ...two or three, that is surely only symbolic. It can't be very many.

[Posner] Well, it is symbolic. On the other hand, I think it's a very difficult thing to actually do, and perhaps you want to try with two or three to see how it works. I mean, you need supervision here, and the UN could certainly play a role. So I think that two or three is simply a way of saying, "Let's start at this level." And of course, this should be done in not just one country or two countries, it should be something practiced in general.

[Wheeler] Is he proposing, then, the United Nations should verify this? Should send inspectors in?

[Posner] Well, I think that that is basically one of his ideas. Generally speaking, in my opinion, the speech was a real pitch for the UN. It was stressing and enhancing the importance of this international body to act as the "united" nations. And it would be a good idea to have impartial bodies looking at all the issues, including the conversion of military plants.

[Wheeler] So the United Nations is to be put in the position of a referee between the superpowers.

[Posner] Yes. Yes. I think that that would be—if that could be agreed to, it would be a tremendous boost for this international body. And I think it would be a positive thing for all countries. Now that's not easy to take. I mean, there are some who might say that we don't want to be told by any group that we're doing the right or

the wrong thing. But on the other hand, if your interest is world security, and if that is to you more important than what might be called your narrow national interests, then you should go for it.

[Wheeler] Afghanistan? Same idea? Peacekeeping force? United Nations?

[Posner] Exactly. I mean, impartial. Anyone else in there can be accused of being partial. If you have a body that represents all the different countries and the different views as a supervisor, you cannot accuse it of being partial.

[Wheeler] Now is this a way of postponing the deadline, February the 15th, to ask for a peacekeeping force?

[Posner] No, absolutely not. I have no doubt that the Soviet Union's intention is to be out of there by the 15th.

[Wheeler] Whether a peacekeeping force is set up or not?

[Posner] Absolutely. In fact, I don't think a peacekeeping force can be set up that quickly.

[Wheeler] The question of human rights. Is the Soviet Union about to abolish the death penalty?

[Posner] I think so. There has been an awful lot in the Soviet media about that. It might remain for things like high treason, espionage, that type of thing. But as you know, the death penalty today exists for first degree murder, gang rape, crimes against the...

[Wheeler, interrupting] Corruption even.

[Posner] ...corruption, yes, corruption. That I think will indeed be abolished.

[Wheeler] Mr Gorbachev made one categorical statement. He said there is nobody left in the Soviet Union in places of confinement who have been confined on political or religious grounds. Now a lot of people aren't going to believe that. How are you going to prove it?

[Posner] How do you convince the world that this is so?

[Wheeler] Well, you allow in Amnesty International, for example.

[Posner] Well, I think, again, that the Soviet Union is perfectly willing to let in whatever organizations are there to check this out. I mean, if the head of state makes that flat kind of unequivocal statement, I could not imagine his unwillingness to back it up.

[Wheeler] Do you expect the United States, which is laying heavy stress on the fact that this is a period of transition between two presidents, to react immediately, publicly, to some of the things that Gorbachev has proposed today?

[Posner] Well, I would expect that President Reagan, in his press conference, will certainly react to it in some way. There must be some statements. I don't think that Mr Gorbachev expects the United States to come back and say, "We will do this and this," because indeed, at this period, it's impossible. But at least an evaluation of what was said, perhaps a very cautious one, but nonetheless, some kind of assessment. Yes, I think there will be one.

Soviet-U.S. Human Rights Forum Opens in Moscow

LD0612212988 Moscow TASS in English 2108 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—"In order to survive in this interdependent world, we should pass on from confrontation to joint efforts to resolve most acute problems, also in the area of rights and freedoms," said Genrykh Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, inaugurating the first session of the Soviet-American forum "For Life and Human Rights" here Tuesday. The project for this permanent body was adopted last February at a meeting of participants in citizen diplomacy from the two countries in Washington.

"It is extremely difficult to overcome the stereotypes in our attitude to each other which formed in the period of the cold war," Genrykh Borovik went on. "This applies, specifically, to humanitarian problems, as every side assumed the role of the judge and gave 'marks for conduct' to the other great power. Now that new thinking is being established in international relations, there is a need for more respectful relations, for the understanding of the differences in the way of life, in national traditions."

Genrykh Borovik noted that perestroyka in the USSR, in whose framework advance is made toward creating a truly law-governed state, opens good prospects for cooperation in the humanitarian area. "However severely we might be criticized by others, our own criticism of ourselves is even more severe," he said. "We are aware of our shortcomings and look for constructive ways to remove them".

Coordinator from the U.S. side Luis Dolan, representative of the Center for Citizen Diplomacy, New York, expressed satisfaction with the beginning of the forum on human rights. He expressed the hope that the forum's work will promote the strengthening of mutual confidence and help destroying "The enemy image" in favour of goodneighbourliness and cooperation. Besides that, Reverend Dolan said, we hope that the forum will help ensure human rights in our countries.

The forum's opening was culminated in a ceremony symbolizing the striving for mutual familiarization, for the warmth of human relations: With candles burning, Soviet people and Americans took an oath of allegiance to the ideals of peace and justice.

Lawyer Notes Rights Problems

LD0612232488 Moscow TASS in English 2241 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—A four-day Soviet-American forum, "for life and human rights," opened here Tuesday. In his opening address to the forum Krutogolov, doctor of law and member of the Presidium of the Soviet Peace Committee, spoke about great achievements in ensuring man's fundamental political and personal rights over the years of perestroyka in the USSR.

Professor Krutogolov noted that Western radio stations beaming their programmes to the Soviet Union were no longer jammed, the number of Jews receiving permission to leave abroad for permanent residence had considerably grown. The procedure to issue documents for trips abroad both as tourists and on invitation was simplified. Relations between the state and the church were also reconsidered: Under the new legislation, religious leaders can take part in the work of councils of People's Deputies.

At the same, the lawyer noted that not all problems in the field of human rights were solved. For instance, one of the reasons behind the current tense situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan was a direct violation of the constitutional right to work. Persons of the Azerbaijan nationality are laid off unlawfuly at enterprises in the territory of Armenia and vice versa. A good deal still has to be done to settle these and other legal matters.

The legal reform is being carried out in the USSR now, changes in penal legislation are being prepared, and draft laws of the press and youth will soon be discussed. But not all of these problems can be tackled today. Economic and social pre-conditions have not ripened in the country as yet to ensure some of the rights in their entirety. But there is the main thing which will allow really to ensure all human rights as time goes by. This is the political will for sweeping changes, which is clearly seen in Soviet society.

William Wilpfler, director of the Human rights Committee at the U.N. national council of churches, also addressed the opening of the forum of Soviet and American public. He noted that an offensive on the successes in ensuring human rights, which were achieved in the 50s and 70s, was launched when the Reagan administration took office in the United States. He said appropriations for social needs went down by 22 per cent and the number of people living below the official poverty line went up by eight million over the Reagan rule.

Participants in the forum believe that an open and honest dialogue will help the two peoples to develop a better understanding of each other's problems and work more fruitfully for a real ensurance of human rights.

Human Rights Forum Continues

LD0712235488 Moscow TASS in English 2157 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—A Soviet-American forum "For Life With Human Rights," which opened in Moscow on Tuesday, noted that the Soviet Union had made substantial progress in granting one inalienable human right—freedom of movement—to Soviet citizens.

It emphasised that the Soviet Union had recently lifted some exit-entry restrictions and had markedly simplified the procedure of drawing up papers necessary for leaving or entering the USSR.

However, some problems concerning this human right remain.

On Wednesday, the Soviet-American forum split into working groups to consider isolated aspects of human rights.

One of the groups discussed the guarantees of the right to free movement.

Doctor of Legal Sciences Yuriy Rozenbaum said that so far the Soviet Union did not have any law regulating all aspects of the exit-entry procedure so far. But, the USSR Institute of State and Law, of which Rozenbaum is the head, is already drawing up the basic provisions of new legislation which will fully comply with "the universal declaration on human rights" and the Helsinki accords. After the preparatory stage, this document will be subject of a nationwide discussion and will later be adopted by a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament).

Another participant, Daniel Horodiskiy, said that problems of leaving the Soviet Union were not always a result of bans imposed by Soviet authorities.

"Very often it is the U.S. Embassy in Moscow that denies visas to those who have received the necessary documents from the Soviet side. This problem calls for a joint solution."

Jonathan Freedman, a journalist from San Diego, suggested that a Soviet-American public commission be set up to monitor provision of the right to free movement. This commission could include prominent Soviet and American political leaders, writers and public representatives. Such a commission could also help those who are unlawfully denied the right to leave or enter the Soviet Union or the United States, and see that permission is granted to these people.

Ambassador Matlock Interviewed on Relations

PM0812092788 Moscow TRUD in Russian
7 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack F. Matlock by TRUD correspondent I. Mikhaylov: "It Is Important To Continue the Dialogue"]

[Text] [Mikhaylov] Mr Ambassador, a presidential election has been held in the United States. G. Bush has started to form the new administration. New people often mean a change in the country's policy, its priorities and goals. What can you say about possible changes and continuity in U.S. policy?

[Matlock] President-elect G. Bush will decide on his own policy, of course, when he is officially installed on 20 January. But it is clear from his past political activity and from his election campaign that basically he shares R. Reagan's political views, and I do not expect big changes in policy, particularly with regard to the Soviet Union.

I think he will pay special attention to international cooperation in the environmental protection sphere. G. Bush will also advocate a global ban on chemical weapons. Some years ago in Geneva he himself proposed a draft treaty banning this type of weapon.

[Mikhaylov] What, in your view, are the prospects for the conclusion of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic armaments?

[Matlock] There remain a few serious obstacles to its conclusion. But these problems are, of course, important to the security of both sides. The first problem on which mutual understanding must be found is methods of monitoring mobile ICBM's. It is very difficult to monitor this missile when it is on the move prior to launch and the other side does not know exactly where it is. Our countries' experts must decide how to monitor these missiles.

The second important problem is effective monitoring of sea-launched cruise missiles. It is very difficult to carry out. So far we have been unable to find a way. So we are proposing that both sides announce how many missiles of this class they intend to produce, without any restrictions. It seems to us that this type of weapon will not be an important factor. The Soviet Union wants to impose precise restrictions. But I think this is impossible unless monitoring methods are established.

Despite the difficulties, we hope that our representatives will be able to reach agreement next year and prepare a treaty for signing.

[Mikhaylov] You are a well-known sovietologist; you have worked for many years as a diplomat in the USSR and have been U.S. ambassador to our country for 2 years now. What established stereotypes concerning our country have been destroyed, do you think, and which ones are still preventing Americans from getting to know our people better?

[Matlock] Opinions about the Soviet Union really are changing in our country. We are aware of what changes are taking place. For example, in the past it appeared to Americans that the Soviet press was under total party and state control, and this gave rise to unfavorable views, but now that glasnost has been proclaimed and extensive items are appearing in the press, it is creating a good impression.

I must say that during the Stalin period, when the people were beset by tragedy, laws were broken, and people died, we knew about it and it influenced American opinion. Now that Soviet people themselves are criticizing and condemning the crimes we welcome the openness.

Take another example: the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It has also had a big impact on our people.

I also want to touch on the problem of human rights: for example, the right to emigrate. I must say that as far as we are concerned emigration is a basic right. Nearly all our ancestors were emigrants. The fact that more and more Soviet people want to be able to travel abroad is having a positive effect on our ideas about your country.

I do not know whether all I have mentioned means that stereotypes have changed, but at any rate, glasnost and restructuring are changing Americans' views of the Soviet Union. What stereotypes remain? We appreciate that the restructuring process is not over yet. For example, it seems to us that the USSR's military might exceeds defense needs. And people in the United States are worried, wondering why your country has such a vast army, why the USSR has four times as many tanks as the NATO countries.

But I think that, in fact, the vast majority of Americans believe that our relations are developing in the right direction. I don't think one can expect us to think the same way on every matter....

[Mikhaylov] As for the question of who has more tanks and who has more aircraft and ships, our readers are familiar with the nature of the debate in this connection. But, as a trade union newspaper representative, I would like to put to you, Mr Ambassador, a question concerning Soviet-American trade union links. Unfortunately, at the moment they do not accord with the spirit of the times and level of relations between the USSR and the United States. More than once Soviet trade union delegations have been refused visas to enter the United States. This year alone, five delegations have been

refused permission to visit your country. Can you say what the reason could be for the U.S. authorities' position, and are there plans to change it?

[Matlock] Our policy on this issue is based on the position of our main trade union association, the AFL-CIO, which hitherto has not wanted to establish official relations with Soviet trade unions. Why? They say they are firmly convinced that trade unions must be independent of political parties and state organs. They must protect their members' interests independently and obstinately. The AFL-CIO considers that Soviet trade unions are part of the state and party system. Therefore, the State Department and the government cannot contribute to the establishment of relations if U.S. trade unions are not willing to do so. But the ban does not apply to trips by Soviet people. If they want to come to the United States—journalists, for example—we are not opposed to such contacts. The ban operates only when trade unionists want to come.

[Mikhaylov] But, Mr Ambassador, the other day a delegation of Soviet journalists was unable to go to your country for the same reason—they were not issued with entry visas....

[Matlock] Unfortunately, I do not have precise knowledge of this case. I believe it was because they wanted to come through trade union channels. If the delegation members had been intending to go merely as journalists I believe there would have been no problems.

[Mikhaylov] Does you answer mean that the AFL-CIO leadership asks the U.S. State Department not to issue entry visas to Soviet trade union delegations?

[Matlock] I would explain it somewhat differently. In view of the fact that the AFL-CIO leadership is against such links, we simply cannot do it. I am not criticizing that position. Frankly, I share their feelings. Trade unions must be independent. The policies of our government and the AFL-CIO leadership concur on this matter.

[Mikhaylov] I will say right away that this position is unacceptable, and we have written about this more than once in our newspaper. In fact, our trade unions are directly invited by U.S. trade unions. And it is the views of U.S. trade unions that are being disregarded. So how can one talk about anyone's independence? Moreover, visas are not issued to ordinary Soviet workers either. Our countries' military personnel have started meeting, but trade union contacts come up against obstacles....

[Matlock] When our trade union leaders see that your trade unions have become independent from the party and state organs our approach to the solution of this problem may change.

[Mikhaylov] What is your view of the future development of Soviet-American political dialogue and relations between our states?

[Matlock] It is a good sign that our leaders are meeting for the second time this year, although M.S. Gorbachev's visit to New York, to address the United Nations, is not an official visit to the United States. Vice President Bush, the President-elect, will participate in the meeting as well as R. Reagan. I will be participating too.

We believe that in the future we will be able to continue the policy of dialogue for the solution of many problems. Both sides are working in earnest on this. We must not rest on our laurels. Achievements have been made in Soviet-American relations, but we have much work to do.

Concrete results cannot be expected at the upcoming meeting in New York. But this does not mean that it will not be important. This meeting is another sign that our dialogue is very active. And, in my view, it will continue in the future.

[Mikhaylov] Naturally, Soviet-American relations have a special place in international life.

[Matlock] I think you are right. The fact remains that only the USSR and the United States have the means to eliminate one another and the entire world. And, of course, this attaches special significance to the regulation of mutual relations between our countries. Our leaders know this. We do not see any possibility of war between our countries. But it must not be thought that everything hinges on the USSR and the United States. No. I believe that if we consider economic, political, and social problems, and environmental protection, the United States and the USSR are just two states. Our relations are extremely important from the viewpoint of the security not only of our countries, but of all mankind. And in other spheres we must realize that we cannot solve every issue, because it is necessary to cooperate with other countries.

[Mikhaylov] Mr Ambassador, apart from your diplomatic and academic activity, you are well known in the United States as an expert on Russian and Soviet literature, and you translate our poets and writers. Which of them do you find particularly interesting?

[Matlock] I translate Andrey Voznesenskiy's poems. We are old friends. I also like Vitaliy Korotich's poems. Although I do not speak Ukrainian I can read it. I am very fond of Yuriy Nagibin's stories and screenplays and I have found the stories of T. Tolstaya and V. Yerofeyev very interesting....

The first poet I started reading in Russian was A.S. Pushkin, I think, in 1948, when I was a student. Then I became acquainted with the works of L.N. Tolstoy and F.M. Dostoyevskiy. At the moment I am translating N.S. Leskov's works. His ability to convey the Russian soul is remarkable. Whereas many other writers have been

influenced by Western literature, there is practically no evidence, it seems to me, of this influence in Leskov. He uses many colloquialisms.... Therefore, translating him is particularly difficult.

[Mikhaylov] What would you like to say to the readers of TRUD?

[Matlock] I wish Soviet people success in overcoming all difficulties; I want to see restructuring completed successfully, and I wish people a better life. The New Year is approaching, and I want to wish your paper's readers all the best, and prosperity and happiness.

U.S. Naval Role in Persian Gulf Deplored

LD0412173088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0958 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Commentary by TASS political observer Vladimir Matyash—all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Dec (TASS)—According to the latest reports from the Persian Gulf region, the United States, which has declared the whole of this region to be a "zone of its vital interests," intends without the consent of the constituent states to go on defending the "security" of oil sources. The explanation is as follows: This region is subjected to "political shocks" which the Soviet Union will not fail to use to the West's detriment.

"The United States troop command, which is responsible for U.S. military operations in the Persian Gulf region, has radically reviewed its strategy for the protection of oil deposits on the Arabian Peninsula against Soviet or Iranian attack, writes Richard Halloran, the well-known military observer in THE NEW YORK TIMES, today. Marines General George Crist, who has just retired as head of central command, stated in an interview for the newspaper that according to the new plan U.S. land forces supported by warships in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, and also aircraft based in Saudi Arabia, Oman, and other Gulf states will try to hold on to strong points at the head of the Gulf, opposite the Straits of Hormuz that lead into it and other key points."

Thus Washington is using yet further grounds for sharply building up its military might in and around the Gulf. Obviously on the banks of the Potomac they have already forgotten about the tragic fate of the U.S. Frigate Stark which was hit by a missile killing 37 sailors. This sad incident vividly demonstrated the whole absurdity of intensifying the U.S. military presence in the region—a presence that was covered up by the figleaf of taking away the "threat" to navigation posed to vessels of all states using the ports of the Persian Gulf.

But there is one other matter which compels one to think seriously about the consequences of establishing a nuclear component among the U.S. naval forces in the region. According to U.S. press evidence, missiles launced from the Persian Gulf region by submerged submarines are capable of hitting Moscow and industrial centers in Siberia. Some of the on-deck aircraft belonging to the aircraft carriers in the area are capable of reaching the industrial regions of Central Asia with midair refuelling. Another part—missile cruisers, tactical aircraft, and landing ships—threatens the coastal states of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

As far as the safety of navigation is concerned, this problem can be resolved in various ways without, naturally, taking recourse to the policy of threats and the military cudgel. Even now, without putting things off into the long term, all countries using the Persian Gulf could resort to joint efforts in a search to secure freedom of navigation in the Indian Ocean as a whole. For example, the Soviet Union proposes that multilateral talks should be started to work out guarantees for the safety of seaborne communications over the whole area of the ocean, including the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, this is not a display of any weakness. Certainly not. It is a desire to remove the blockage from peace efforts in a region which is gripped by conflicts, to avoid them spreading, and to return the peoples who live in the region to a peaceful life.

China

Scientific Cooperation Plan Signed With PRC

PM0712160088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 9

[Interviews with Academician A.A. Logunov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Professor Sun Honglie, vice president of the PRC Academy of Sciences, by A. Istomin and V. Samokhotkin "immediately after" signing of cooperation plan on 1 December at USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, published under the rubric "Contacts and Contracts": "PRC-USSR: Academicians Cooperate"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A plan for scientific cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the PRC Academy of Sciences for 1989-1990 was signed at the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium on 1 December 1988; it provides for the further development of contacts between scientists in the sphere of natural and technical sciences.

Immediately after the signing of the document we put some questions to Academician A.A. Logunov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Professor Sun Honglie, vice president of the PRC Academy of Sciences.

[Interviewers] Anatoliy Alekseyevich, major economic transformations are taking place in the Soviet Union as well as in the PRC. What joint scientific work by the two countries' specialists is envisaged in this sphere?

[Logunov] I think we simply must make use of the experience China has in developing agriculture. Our economists are ready to work together with our Chinese colleagues. I am sure that in time close contacts will be established here. The development of the economic thinking of socialism is a matter which must be given greater weight and force, with our joint scientific potential being concentrated in this area.

[Interviewers] Does the present plan make provision for expanding student exchanges?

[Logunov] This document deals with scientific links between the two Academies of Sciences (that includes postgraduate studies and exchanges of scientific staffers). And such exchanges already take place between VUZ's. And this process will be widened. Recently, for instance, we concluded an agreement with Beijing University.

[Interviewers] Comrade Sun Honglie, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium has recently been considerably rejuvenated by an intake of young scientists. Has a similar process taken place in the PRC Academy of Sciences?

[Sun Honglie] Since 1984 we have begun to formulate a specific system for lowering the average age of cadres both in the Academy of Sciences leadership and in the leadership of the academy's institutes. In particular, an age qualification was imposed for leading scientific staffers—under 60.

[Interviewers] The USSR Academy of Sciences has put forward a concrete proposal on mutual contacts between the Siberian and Far Eastern Departments and the PRC. Is the Chinese side interested in joint research on the study and conservation of Lake Baykal?

[Sun Honglie] The Siberian and Far Eastern Departments of the USSR Academy of Sciences have indeed recently established direct contacts with Chinese organizations, including some belonging to the PRC Academy of Sciences system. I am referring first and foremost to such areas as the study of the land and the ecological sphere. As far as I know, the Soviet Union, with the participation of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is planning to set up a kind of ecological center in the Lake Baykal region. For its part, the PRC Academy of Sciences Institute of Lakes and Geography has expressed readiness to take part in joint scientific research.

In conclusion I would like to stress that we attach great significance to the forthcoming visit to China by a USSR Academy of Sciences delegation headed by its president, Academician G.I. Marchuk, in January 1989. During his visit concrete decisions will be taken on current and long-term questions of developing scientific contacts.

Science Plan Assessed

OW0912045488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Dec 88

[By correspondent Moyishilev]

[Text] A cooperation plan between the Soviet and Chinese Academies of Sciences for 1989-1990 was signed on 1 December in Moscow. The program calls for further expansion of cooperation in natural science and technology between scientists of the two countries. The following is a report in this regard by our station's correspondent Moyishilev, who attended the signing ceremony:

Marchuk, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, received the delegation from the Chinese Academy of Sciences headed by its vice president, Sun Honglie, before the signing ceremony and briefed them on the reform in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He said that Soviet scientists have often used their Chinese counterparts' experience. Sun Honglie, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, stressed that his delegation came to the Soviet Union to study the Soviet experience in political and economic reform.

Then the signing ceremony for the 1989-1990 cooperative program was held. Logunov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences signed the agreement for the Soviet side. Sun Honglie, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, was the Chinese signatory.

Following the signing ceremony Logunov and Sun Honglie answered reporters' questions:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Comrade Sun Honglie, how does this cooperation plan differ from the agreement the two academies of sciences signed 2 years ago? [words indistinct]

[Sun Honglie] This program is really a concrete implementation of the agreement signed 2 years ago. The agreement we signed in 1986 was a general agreement. What we have just signed is an implementation program for the next 2 years.

This program does show some new developments. I think these new developments are mainly as follows: First, our cooperation will be on a larger scale than before. In the past we had 50 [words indistinct] each year, and they were on a short-term basis. Now we have changed the figure to 100, double the previous record. Our long-term cooperation covered 12 fields in the past; now it covers 24 fields. Both are doubled: That is to say, the scale has become larger. The second difference is that we have added a clause: That is, in addition to cooperative projects between the two academies, we support direct contacts between research institutes in the East and West to plan their cooperative projects. This will further expand the scope of cooperation. The third new development is that we put more stress on cooperation in

concrete projects of common interest, rather than general visits. These should be considered as remarkable developments. [end recording]

Then our station correspondent asked Comrade Logunov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences: What are the comments of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on the program of science cooperation signed today? Specifically, what is the direction of the development of cooperation?

[Logunov speaking in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] Logunov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said: I think this marks a significant stage in the activities of the two academies of sciences. A very representative delegation of Chinese scientists has come to our country. They have acquainted themselves with our science organizations' work and the possible speed at which cooperation can develop. Now the major task is to expand and develop cooperation. This is only the first step in this direction.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

6 SRV Divisions To Leave Cambodia 15-21 Dec

LD0812164588 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Phnom Penh December 8 TASS—The Defense Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has distributed a communique which says that following up on the decision of Kampuchea and Vietnam, six Vietnamese divisions with the total strength of 18,000 men will return home on December 15-21. This is the last detachment from the contingent of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers who, as was announced earlier, must leave Kampuchea before the end of this year within the framework of the regular partial withdrawal. A total of 32,000 Vietnamese men, the communique runs, have returned home now since June this year.

The Kampuchean Government invites representatives of countries, international organisations and the mass media to be present as observers at the Vietnamese withdrawal.

Situation on Cambodian-Thai Border Viewed

LD0912021388 Moscow TASS in English 0134 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Bangkok December 9 TASS—Tens of thousands of Kampuchean refugees living in Thailand in the camps which are controlled by Khmer Rouge continue to be victims of the policy of genocide denounced throughout the world.

According to refugees, people living in those camps still obey the Angka organization which is to blame for the death of three million Kampucheans during the rule of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. Workers of international organizations distributing relief aid among displaced persons from Kampuchea maintain that refugees have no freedom of movement, no access to medical assistance, they are forbidden to get married and are kept just on this side of starvation.

The newspaper BANGKOK POST published an interview with Som Tha, a 24-year-old Kampuchean girl who managed to escape from a refugee camp. "Myself and other girls were forced to carry across the jungle ammunition and food for guerrilla detachments fighting on Kampuchean territory. Usually we had to carry rice, several grenades and mines, cartridges and anti-tank projectiles," she said.

Information started coming recently that thousands of refugees are moved to the areas located closer to the Thai-Kampuchean border. At the same time, Pol Pot supporters are creating arms caches in the border area. Local observers believe that the reason underlying those activities is that Pol Pot supporters are getting ready to start a major offensive in Kampuchea with the aim to seize power following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from that country.

The Thai press points out that from a military point of view Khmer Rouge units with a total strength from 30,000 to 40,000 in which strict discipline is maintained surpass by far two other opposition groups and form an impressive military force. This is why, the newspaper continued, the growing concern in the world over a possible usurping of power in Kampuchea by Pol Pot men and a resumption of bloody genocide can hardly be described as groundless.

Australia Offers Space Launch Facility to USSR

LD0812115988 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] The Soviet Union is considering an offer from Australia to set up on that country's territory a space launch facility. This was disclosed by one of the officials of the Soviet space program, Aleksandr Dunayev. He said the idea is tempting but requires a thorough study. During a business trip to the Soviet Union the Australian experts visited the cosmodrome in Baykonur. They took special interest in the Proton booster rocket. They said they would like to use it on a commercial basis for launching satellites from their cosmodrome.

Near East & South Asia

Diplomat Details POW Talks With Mujahidin

PM0812143988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with unidentified Soviet diplomat by own correspondent N. Paklin under the rubric "We Report the Details": "The Theme of the Discussion in Islamabad"; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Islamabad—As the Soviet press has already reported, staffers at the USSR Embassy in Pakistan have met with representatives of the "Alliance of Seven" on

the question of the release of Soviet prisoners of war captured by the mujahidin in Afghanistan. Our correspondent spoke with a Soviet diplomat who took part in the meeting.

[Paklin] How was contact established with the "Alliance of Seven"?

[Diplomat] The Soviet Government has been making the maximum effort, by using every political and diplomatic means, to secure the fastest release of our soldiers. Our Foreign Ministry is working to achieve that now, as are Soviet embassies in a number of countries, including Pakistan. We managed to meet the representatives of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" in Islamabad with the help of the Pakistani Foreign Ministry, which had organized the meeting.

I have to say that we had to hold a great many consultations of all kinds beforehand. After all, this was the first contact in Pakistan between official representatives of the Soviet side and the Afghan armed opposition. The Pakistanis helped on this occasion.

[Paklin] With whom did you talk?

[Diplomat] The "alliance" was represented by Ghayrat Bashir (of the Hezb-e Eslami grouping, which is led by the well-known Hikmatyar) and Abdurrahim (of the Jamiyat e Eslami-e Afghanistan grouping). The latter group is headed by the "alliance"' current chairman, Burhanuddin Rabbani. These groupings essentially set the tone of the "Alliance of Seven."

When we entered the room, they were already waiting for us. They stood up, introduced themselves, and gave their names and the groupings to which they belonged. We were introduced by Colonel V.D. Belyy, the Soviet military attache. We decided to begin by hearing what the representatives of the "seven" had to say. They stated that they represented the whole "alliance," that they regarded this meeting as political talks with the Soviet Union and that there was thus no need to discuss the Soviet prisoners of war, because that will be settled automatically as part of the general settlement of the Afghan problem.

One of the "alliance"' representatives read out a list of "atrocities" allegedly committed by Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. As is well known, these fabrications are untrue.

[Paklin] So was the meeting deadlocked from the very beginning?

[Diplomat] Almost. We stated firmly that, in view of the powers of the participants in the meeting and its level, it could not be regarded as "political talks." The purpose of the meeting was solely to discuss the question of the release of Soviet prisoners of war. We asked for a report on the number of Soviet prisoners of war in the "alliance"' hands, for their names, and for a meeting to be organized between them and embassy representatives either in Islamabad or elsewhere on Pakistani territory. In addition, we proposed that our military servicemen be given the opportunity to write letters home which the embassy would pass on. Our side particularly stressed here that the release of the prisoners of war is first and foremost a humanitarian question because it concerns people who have long since ceased to be combatants, people who are living in unfamiliar and difficult conditions and who are deprived of all contact with their homeland. Their fate deeply worries their families, relatives, friends, and all Soviet people.

[Paklin] What was the answer?

[Diplomat] At first they flatly refused to answer any of these questions. Then we stated: "If that is the 'alliance" approach, then the meeting is pointless because there is nothing to discuss." Our interlocutors exchanged looks, whispered among themselves, and then replied: "Okay, for the time being we will give you the names of four of your prisoners of war." The "alliance" representatives assured us that the Soviet military servicemen who were captured are "alive and well."

[Paklin] How did the meeting end?

[Diplomat] It was agreed to brief the respective sides—in our case, the leadership of the Soviet Embassy, and in theirs, the leadership of the "alliance"—on the course of the meeting. Both sides agreed to hold another meeting.

Najibullah BAKHTAR Interview Cited

LD0912022888 Moscow TASS in English 0224 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 9 TASS—The Republic of Afghanistan fully supports the approaches of the Soviet Union to the solution of burning problems of today, President Najibullah of Afghanistan said today in an interview with the BAKHTAR news agency.

Commenting on statements of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, about the Afghan problem that were made at the U.N. the president said that the Soviet leader had pointed out the need for observing the Geneva accords. We agree that in this case a process of political settlement of the Afghanistan-related situation could be completed by the end of 1988. Soviet initiatives develop and amend in many respects the point of view of the Republic of Afghanistan, Najibullah continued. Specifically, immediately after the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy we urged to announce ceasefire in order to create conditions for the beginning of talks. The Afghan Armed Forces observed ceasefire until they were attacked by armed opposition forces.

Touching upon a proposal to stop arms deliveries to all the warring parties, the president said: We are ready to accept this proposal. I should like to point out that our country has been turned into a powder magazine filled to capacity, and all the playing with fire should be stopped near it. We support as well another novel element, namely, the use of the U.N. troops for preventing clashes between the warring parties. The experience of the past shows that the U.N. force is an effective means of ensuring tranquility in the hotbeds of tension. We suggest that detachments of volunteers of achieving a peaceful settlement of the situation. Ceasefire and international control over its observance will create, in our opinion, conditions for a dialogue and talks, for the creation of a coalition government on a broader basis, the convocation of Loya Jirgah, the holding of elections and, on the whole, for ensuring durable peace in the country. If opposition leaders do not agree to the sending of U.N. troops to Afghanistan, they will show that they are not interested in the establishment of peace and the termination of bloodshed. As for the Afghan Government, we are ready to create necessary conditions for the realization of all those proposals, incuding the arrival of U.N. troops. We believe as well that the convocation of an international conference on Afghanistan will create conditions for the neutrality and demilitarization of the country. We support the idea of creating an international peace corps for the rendering of assistance to the Afghan people, Najibullah pointed out.

The Afghan leader reiterated Afghanistan's support for meetings between Yu.M. Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister and ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Afghanistan, and a delegation of the Afghan opposition forces (alliance of the seven) held recently in Al-Ta'if. The president pointed out that they had been held with the consent of the Afghan leadership which had taken part in their preparation.

As for us, we have always favoured and continue to favour peace, Najibullah emphasized. If the opposition rejects a call for peace, it is to bear full responsibility for the consequences of this step. State power has at its disposal strong armed forces equipped with modern armaments, and they can always repulse enemies of peace and tranquility in Afghanistan.

Bhutto Urged To Reduce Afghan Involvement

OW0712130888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2330 GMT 5 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast; Yuriy Rostov commentary]

[Text] A government headed by Benazir Bhutto, Pakistani prime minister and leader of the Pakistan People's Party, has been sworn in in Islamabad. Here is our commentary:

[Rostov] Hello, comrades. The ascension to power in Pakistan of Benazir Bhutto is no ordinary event, not only because a woman is now the head of government in a Muslim country for the first time in 7 centuries, but also because Benazir Bhutto is the daughter of Ali Bhutto, the former Pakistani prime minister who was executed 10 years ago as a result of a military coup. Her victory was primarily a defeat of the supporters of military dictator Ziaul Haq and a defeat of the proponents of a military regime.

The formation of a government by the Pakistan People's Party cannot fail to have a most significant effect on the country's future course. Among the many problems facing Pakistan, the main ones are probably participation in the Afghan conflict, the low level of economic development, and the extremely large rate of military spending. There are not many countries in the world where allocations for military building are greater than one-half of the budget. Military expenditures, of course, are directly linked with participation in the Afghan conflict.

There is another problem: the appearance of 3 million refugees on Pakistani territory. Refugees require work and housing, and their entry into Pakistani society has brought about a sharp exacerbation of national, economic, and social conflicts. These contradictions are particularly painful because they are occurring in one of the world's poorest countries.

Of course, the country and the new leadership also face other difficulties, particularly difficulties that are subjective in nature. Pakistan has no deep tradition of parliamentary democracy, and there is strong distrust for a woman leader. Benazir Bhutto is only 35 years old, has no experience of government administration, and does not have a well-formulated government program. The fact is that her expectations of victory during the elections were not high.

Obviously, the degree of predictability in the development of the situation in Pakistan is presently not very high. In case of an active liberal policy on the part of the government, for example, the forces of reaction may simply initiate a counteroffensive. At the same time, it is also obvious that regardless of how the balance of power develops in Pakistan, the new government must now strive to stabilize the situation in the country. It can do this by decreasing the country's involvement in the Afghan conflict, decreasing military spending, and directing the freed resources into social programs.

Economic Cooperation Talks Held With Iran

LD0812162088 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The 11th session of the Standing Commission on Economic Cooperation between the USSR and the Islamic Republic of Iran was

held in Moscow on December 5-8. The Soviet delegation was led by Nikolay Konarev, minister of transport, and the Iranian—Mohammad Javad Iravani, minister of the economy and finance.

The session discussed a wide range of issues of Soviet-Iranian economic, technical, trade and transport cooperation.

The heads of the delegations signed a protocol of the 11th session, which reflects the desire of the sides to boost considerably cooperation in ferrous metallurgy, heat and hydraulic power engineering, transport, industrial and housing construction, further to develop and upgrade transport links between the two countries.

The sides reached an agreement on resuming Iranian natural gas shipments to the USSR, and signed a Soviet-Iranian intergovernmental agreement on cooperation on equal terms in building and operating a hydro-scheme on the border river Aras. The agreement was signed by Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, and Mohammad Javad Iravani. A talk was held on issues of mutual interest.

River Agreement Signed

LD0712172588 Tehran IRNA in English 1458 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 7, IRNA—Iran and the Soviet Union are to cooperate in the construction of two dams across the Aras border river at Khoda Afarin and Qezqalasi [name as received] in northwestern Iran.

The agreement was inked in Moscow by Iran's Minister of Economic and Financial Affairs Mohammad Javad Iravani and Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev.

The terms of control and exploitation of the dams' installations and use of water and energy resources of the Aras River will be decided later by the two countries' experts.

Iravani is heading an economic delegation to attend the 11th session of the Iran-USSR economic commission which started work Monday [5 December].

PLO-U.S. Meeting in Stockholm Discussed

LD0712231888 Moscow TASS in English 2241 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Stockholm December 8 TASS—A Palestinian delegation headed by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and representatives of the U.S.-based International Center for Peace in the Middle East have had a meeting in Stockholm.

It was organised on Sweden's initiative and was attended by Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson.

A joint statement issued in Stockholm emphasises the importance of the special session of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) in Algiers.

According to the decisions of the Algiers forum, the Palestinian National Council favoured the convocation of an international Middle East peace conference on the basis of U.N. Resolution 242 and 338 and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The joint statement says that the PNC meeting established the independent State of Palestine and accepted the existence of Israel as a state in the region.

The document also emphasises that the PNC session declared its rejection and condemnation of terrorism in all its forms, including state terrorism.

The American personalities strongly supported and applauded the documents adopted in Algiers and felt there were no further impediment to a direct dialogue between the United States Government and the PLO.

Speaking at a news conference on Wednesday [7 December], Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson described the PLO-American meeting as a major step towards a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Other participants in the meeting also expressed satisfaction with its results.

The American representatives noted that the joint statement which specifies the results of the PNC meeting in Algiers and contains a clear-cut recognition of the State of Israel, is opening up new opportunities for dialogue with the aim of establishing peace in the Middle East.

The PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat thanked the Swedish Government for the granted opportunity to meet the American representatives and state the PLO's stance.

The Palestinian delegation also had constructive and useful talks with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, Foreign Minister Sten Andersson and Speaker of the Swedish Parliament (Riksdag) Tage Peterson, 'Arafat said.

Sub-Saharan Africa

SWAPO Condemns RSA 'Delaying Tactics'

PM0812145588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Dragging Out the Settlement Process"]

[Text] Luanda, 7 Dec—The RSA regime bears full responsibility for the breakdown of the latest round of talks in Brazzaville on reaching a settlement in southwest Africa, which were expected to be a decisive stage on the road to peace in the region, according to a South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) communique circulated here.

In response to the diplomatic flexibility demonstrated by the Angolan and Cuban delegations, which have agreed to reduce the period of withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angolan territory to 27 months, the document points out, the South African side has insisted upon forming a commission to monitor the withdrawal which would include its own representatives. Pretoria is resorting to delaying tactics in order to win time, forge an anti-SWAPO coalition out of the puppet groups in Namibia, and thereby prevent SWAPO from winning the upcoming free, democratic elections in Namibia, which are to be monitored by the United Nations.

The current temporary cessation of military operations in Namibia between SWAPO patriots and the occupiers cannot last indefinitely, the communique points out. It is clearly being used by the racists to influence the local population in favor of their proteges and to conduct an unbridled campaign of terror against supporters of the patriotic organization.

The Pretoria regime must set a date without delay for beginning the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on the decolonization of Namibia, SWAPO stresses. Otherwise, we will be forced to launch an even more powerful struggle for our country's freedom. SWAPO does not intend to endure the RSA's attempts to prolong the settlement process any longer.

The RSA's actions at the talks in Brazzaville attest to its lack of interest in achieving peace in Southwest Africa, JORNAL DE ANGOLA writes. The double-dealing stance taken by the racists is generally typical of the apartheid state's policy in the region, where Pretoria puts forward one "linkage" after another. RSA Foreign Minister R. Botha instructed his delegation to leave Brazzaville, justifying this by citing the need to incorporate a clause in the settlement agreement on the participation of RSA representatives in monitoring the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

This maneuver, the newspaper points out, runs counter to the accords reached in New York this July when Angolan, Cuban, and RSA representatives agreed that the withdrawal of Cuban troops must be implemented on the basis of a treaty between Angola and Cuba. These states were recognized as having the right to apply to the UN Security Council for on-site verification of the troop withdrawal.

Angolan Ministry Issues Statement on Talks

LD0812074088 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Luanda December 8 TASS—Angola believes that the peace process in southern Africa is irreversible and intends to continue looking for a solution that would meet the interests of all the sides, the Angolan Foreign Ministry has said.

It added in a statement issued here Wednesday [7 December] on quadripartite talks on a settlement in the south-west of Africa that as before in those efforts, Angola would keep showing common sense and flexibility, but would yield not an inch in the issue of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and free choice.

The statement said that delegations from Angola, Cuba and South Africa had been able at last July's round of the talks in New York to reach an agreement with U.S. mediation that had laid down a number of fundamental principles for signing a global treaty in order to settle the conflict in the south-west of Africa peacefully.

That agreement, later approved by the governments of all the countries involved, included, among others, a clause on the northwise movement and phased and complete withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops from Angolan territory on the basis of a bilateral treaty between Angola and Cuba, as well as on their decision to ask the U.N. Security Council to verify the pullout from Angolan territory.

The Angolan Foreign Ministry said that the recognition of those principles had further confirmed the flexibility and goodwill invariably demonstrated by Angola at the talks, and played the decisive role in reversing a process that had seemed to have reached a deadend.

The statement said further that during contacts later in New York Angola and Cuba, acting in keeping with a decision by all the sides, had requested the United Nations to verify the Cuban troop withdrawal and determined together with representatives of the U.N. secretary-general the basic provisions of a relevant agreement, envisaging, in particular, the monitoring of the troop withdrawal at the ports and airports of departure and checks on compliance with deadlines for different phases of the Cuban troop pullback from southern Angola up north to the 13th parallel.

So the arguments used by South African authorities to explain their surprise walkout from the talks in Brazzaville were totally untenable, the Angolan Foreign Ministry said.

Their unexpected posture was a breach of the New York accords and put a question mark over Pretoria's claimed "goodwill." It also borne out the earlier expressed concern of the Angolan leadership that it would be very difficult to get hard guarantees from South Africa that it would honor its obligations, the statement said.

Correspondent Reports on Current RSA Situation

MB0812141588 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 30 Nov 88

[From the "Overcoming Stereotypes" program; report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Boris Belatskin on his visit to South Africa—read by announcer]

[Text] Across the road from the Hotel Burger's park lies a quiet park with the same name. Just as all other green areas in Pretoria, the park is well cared for.

In the shade of its trees stands an elongated house of brick that has become dark with age. The purpose of this house in the park becomes clear from big signs saying: for white women only, for black women only, for white men only, for black men only.

I will say at once, during my entire stay in the Republic of South Africa, I saw similar signs only once and also near a public toilet. I was told that the signs in the Burger's Park were not duly removed, which is a fault of Pretoria's City Council.

Over the past few years, cafes, cinemas, hotels, supermarkets, banks, and swimming pools have been catering for all the races. More recently, railway car compartments were integrated. At a show I attended at the State Theatre of Pretoria, a good half of the spectators were blacks. The downtown areas of the largest South African cities, Cape Town, and Durban, are filled with noisy, multicolored crowds of people. At a closer look, I could single out the various colors—black, white, and sallow. But that is only in the daytime.

In the evening, in keeping with the Group Areas Act, the crowds divide into streams and start moving in different directions.

The regulations are backed with an act for the registration of the population, which provides for mentioning races in the identity papers. Earlier, this was done openly. Today, the papers do not indicate black, white, colored, or Indian. The words have been replaced with the digital code. Fed into a computer memory, the codes can be broken up instantly at the first request. These decoded data are used in hiring and in separating people according to race to determine the place of residence. Champions of reform told me that, as a matter of fact, the Group Areas Act is obsolete and withering away.

Go to Hillbrow and you will see it for yourself. Indeed, in that neighborhood of Johannesburg, there are quite a few cheap rooming houses in which blacks and coloreds live, several families to an apartment as a rule. Broken window panes, dirty balconies, and dark staircases are an indication of the plight and need of these people. Mixed zones, which have appeared without any official permission, are now called grey. They exist in other cities, too.

In a few weeks before the recess of Parliament in Cape Town, the president put pressure on it to win approval for his version of renovating the law on areas of residence. On the one hand, according to a special list, some zones can be open to all races if the municipal councils make appropriate requests to the government. On the other hand, the persons who have settled down of their own accord in places not meant for them are to be evicted right away. The police have already begun a search for the illegal settlers. No one denies a place under the sun to them, provided the sun does not shine in city windows.

As for living in townships, it is all right. These have been determined in the decades of practice to be the optimal way of taking care of Africans, Indians, and coloreds.

To turn to the economy, a strategy of encouraging all sorts of African business ventures is being followed for this reason: to create a sufficient, large, middle class among the black bourgeoisie who will change radicalism for sedate moderation. That is what I was told by a manager of the South African Association of Black Taxi Drivers, who have monopolized the transportation of passengers from cities to townships. Some members of this association have a fleet of 10 to 12 cabs each. Although the association has put up a serious competition to bus travel, which is subsidized by the government, it gets all sorts of government support. Association leaders even have access to the president himself. The head of the association is white, and his colleagues on the board of directors are Africans. They all told me in unison that the main thing is to give room for business activity, to have the international sanctions blasted because these led to a reduction in the number of available jobs, and to prevent any interference in the work of the government on the reform.

This is also the stand of the big, private corporations. Big business, which has regarded the residents of townships all along as only consumers, is now ready to help actively with the creation of a middle class, which will have a pacifying effect on the African masses with its vested interest in things running smoothly.

There is an important point: Earlier, Africans could only rent real estate, not own it. These restriction have been lifted. More than that, special trading zones open to all have been set up in all cities to encourage business. Industrial zones have appeared in the suburbs of cities, but, as a matter of fact, the people I talked to failed to give me the name of a single African owning a factory.

But the neighborhoods of Soweto and other suburbs do not look uniform any longer. At a closer look, I could see that they are dividing into strata and disintegrating, giving space within them to the have-nots in their majority and to those who are ready to cooperate with the authorities.

Writes 'Epilogue' to Visit Story

MB0812154888 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Boris Belatskin: "An Epilogue to a Printed Story"—read by announcer]

[Text] I would like to add a few words to the material I have had published in the newspaper IZVESTIYA. When I went to the Republic of South Africa for 3 weeks, I realized that would be too short a period to see the whole country, apart from understanding all about it. And so, I set myself a small aim—to see for myself for the first time in many decades what is really happening in

that country. To see that not through the prism of the foreign newspapers, but really with my own eyes. I wanted to see, or rather to hear, the entire range of public opinion there—I mean, the left-wing, white opposition, and the right-wing opposition—to hear people who oppose apartheid and are acting against it.

The Soviet journalist went on to say that, thanks to the policy of openness and restructuring underway in the USSR, a policy that changes a great deal, it has become possible for such stories to appear here. Speaking frankly, the stories could not be printed 10 years ago or even a few years ago. As a matter of fact, we were used to propaganda stereotypes. I strived to depart from them and to show an objective picture of its entire complexity, hence with its contradictions. Naturally, our stand on apartheid remains unchanged and cannot change. We reject this ideology in practice, but I have tried to convey to you how all that looks in practical terms.

During my stay in South Africa, I had more than 60 personal meetings. The program was packed, but I was glad it was. I want to say that I naturally entered conversations as I lived in hotels, traveled along roads of South Africa, visiting pharmacies and shops. I would like to note that not on a single occassion of my stay did I feel anything unpleasant or hostile. On the contrary, an interest was shown to me. One discovery I made on my tour of the Republic of South Africa is that, despite the obstacles created by censorship, people in the RSA do know about the Soviet policy of openness and about the personality of the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, and that many people there are beginning to change their views. I think the doctrine is already dead under which the Soviet Union allegedly wants to strangle the RSA and to throw the white population into the ocean. It is likely that the people who still adhere to their old view are those who refuse to see the realities.

West Europe

Thatcher Cited on Canceled Gorbachev Visit

LD0812192688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 8 Dec 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Valeriy Korzin]

[Text] As you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's trip was planned for a significantly longer period. After the United States, he intended to visit both Cuba and the UK; but the misfortune which befell our country, the very strong earthquake in Armenia, forced him to break off his visit and return home urgently.

When Margaret Thatcher received this news in London, she made a short statement to the press which I will now show you: [video shows Thatcher, Zamyatin, Ingham, and two unidentified men emerging from 10 Downing Street and walking across to camera and microphones on opposite side]

[Begin Thatcher recording in English with superimposed Russian translation] Ambassador Zamyatin has just conveyed to me a personal message from Gorbachev which says that he regrets that he cannot come to our country. However, the earthquake is a dreadful tragedy which has affected the fate of thousands of people, and thousands of people have perished. It is perfectly obvious that Mr Gorbachev must be at home in his own country. We understand him completely and would ourselves act in exactly the same way in a similar situation. We, for our part, are prepared to do everything possible to help those who have suffered, to send warm clothes, food, and medicine.

I would also like to say that Mr Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations is of extremely great significance, and not only because it contains proposals on reducing conventional arms. What was particularly important was the atmosphere of the speech as a whole, the whole new approach, the whole fundamentally new philosophy that regards all of us on earth as a single world. [end recording]

Thatcher Reaction to Gorbachev Speech Praised

LD0812235588 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 8 Dec 88

[From the "Vantage Point" program; Boris Belitskiy commentary]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In his speech to the United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday [7 December], President Mikhail Gorbachev dwelt on all the main issues in East-West relations. In "Vantage Point," Boris Belitskiy examines the impact of the Soviet leader's speech on the relations between the USSR and the United Kingdom.

[Belitskiy] One of the first world leaders to respond favorably to President Gorbachev's speech and to his announcement of a unilateral cut in Soviet conventional forces was the British prime minister. Mrs Thatcher's words, that this cut is a very positive step forward and just exactly what we wanted, have been noted and are appreciated here in Moscow, as is her offer of sympathies to the Soviet people and the bereaved following the severe earthquake in Armenia. [passage omitted]

In his address to the United Nations, the Soviet president covered all the main issues of East-West relations—arms control, regional conflicts, and human rights. On arms control, Mikhail Gorbachev noted the chink that has been pierced in what once seemed an impregnable wall of suspicion and hostility. In an effort to give a fresh impetus to this process, he announced the Soviet Union's decision to reduce its Armed Forces. [passage omitted] Cuts are also to be made in the forces deployed in the European part of the USSR. Western officials have acknowledged that this measure addresses one of NATO's major concerns in the field of arms control in Europe. [passage omitted]

Undoubtedly all these and many other Soviet measures aimed at democratizing the country, just as the measures announced on disarmament and on regional conflicts, will facilitate future East-West talks and specifically the Soviet-British talks that will take place when the Soviet leader's visit to Britain has been rescheduled. In this respect, people here have noted with satisfaction Mrs Thatcher's words: We hope Mr Gorbachev will be able to come to Britain soon because we are all looking forward to it. We were very much looking forward to the talks, particularly in view of the United Nations speech. Any time he now wants to come we will try to reset things up.

To sum up then, both the Soviet leader's speech at the United Nations and the British prime minister's understanding reaction to the postponement of the Soviet president's visit to her country auger well for the future of Soviet-British talks, for the relations between our two countries, and for the situation in Europe generally.

French-FRG Defense Council Criticized

LD0212164488 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yegeniy Babenko:

France's National Assembly and the FRG's Bundestag have endorsed two protocols on the setting up of a Franco-West German defense and security council and a joint economic and financial council. Supplementing the Elysee treaty, the documents signed by Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl last January, were another stage in the development of bilateral military cooperation which has been given considerable impetus of late. The establishment of a joint military brigade, is, specifically, envisaged.

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said that Paris-Bonn alliance is a "locomotive of European development". Many people regard this as a controversial idea. Thus a number of deputies of the National Assembly voted against ratification, regarding this idea as an encroachment on France's national sovereignty.

Indeed, such developments make one perplexed, to say the least. It turns out that a certain old idea of a "European army", even if in an abriged form, is gaining ground nowadays, whereas it did not gain the necessary support in much worse international conditions, some 20-30 years ago.

And what about the project of a "common European home" which, incidentally, was described by the French president the other day as a "great idea"? Moscow's thought about a large peaceful home in future in which all Europeans would live conveniently is of global character. This idea should be given consideration by everybody, together.

As it was clearly stated at the Soviet-French summit in Moscow, the Soviet Union sees the future of Europe in overcoming its present split. Mikhail Gorbachev noted that the quest for new European projects and solutions should be conducted in such a way as to stimulate not the seclusion of separate regions of economic and political formations in Europe, but their progressive integration.

The new separate military alliance of France and FRG hardly fit in with these designs.

It can be recalled how at a recent international meeting of journalists in Moscow devoted to the "European home", a journalist from Hamburg asked if there will be a fire brigade at that "home" and who will be included in it. It seems that there are those in Paris and Bonn who hasten to create their own "fire brigade" in order to see what will come of it and how it will combine with European processes that have already been started and are so much needed for Europe.

FDP Figure Lauds USSR Arms Proposal

LD0812115688 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Bonn December 8 TASS—The new Soviet peace initiatives on a unilateral reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe evoked an extremely positive response in West German political quarters, said to TASS Uwe Ronneburger, an expert of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) on defence questions.

Apart from demonstrating the USSR's goodwill and confirming seriousness of its intentions to achieve progress in disarmament, the speech by the Soviet leader at the U.N. created favourable prerequisites for the earliest successful completion of the Vienna meeting and drafting at it of a mandate for talks on reduction in conventional arms in Europe. This inspires the hope for a considerable lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe and strengthening of security.

The speech by Mikhail Gorbachev turned to be very timely, noted Ronneburger. In connection with a change of the U.S. Administration, some pause can emerge at the talks on various issues of security policy. Now new U.S. President George Bush, together with NATO European allies, will need immediately to start examining Soviet proposals and drafting their own response moves which would include cuts both in conventional and nuclear weapons.

Latin America & Caribbean

Official Discusses Cuban Relations, 'Summit'

PA0812182988 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, by unidentified reporter; date, place not given]

[Text] In a few days, Mikhail Gorbachev will visit Cuba. As is known, there is close cooperation between the USSR and Cuba in the political, economic, scientific,

and cultural sectors. Our correspondent met with Aleksandr Kachanov and asked him: How are economic ties between the USSR and Cuba developing?

Kachanov replied: I would say that economic and trade relations are chiefly aimed at totally developing the basic areas of Cuba's economy. They are also aimed at establishing production centers needed to meet the demands of the Cuban people.

There are many efforts to increase Cuba's export capacity. Recently, there has been a special vitality in the electronics industry. Cuba has laid the foundations in this sector, with the USSR's cooperation. In Havana, a factory for manufacturing radios and televisions was built. The factory can produce various equipment and parts for the electronics industry. The output at Havana's (?monitor) production plant has increased.

He was also asked: How do you feel about trade between the USSR and Cuba?

The Soviet official replied: Presently, Cuba exports 30 types of different products. In addition to traditional exports such as sugar, nickel, and citrus fruits, Cuban exports include several new items, especially from the electronics industry. Moreover, Aleksandr Kachanov noted, the USSR fully meets Cuba's needs for oil and oil byproducts, as well as for large amounts of cereal, metals, fertilizers, wood, transportation equipment, and machinery.

Kachanov was asked: How do you feel about Mikhail Gorbachev's trip to Cuba?

He answered: We welcome the visit. We are certain that the results of the USSR-Cuban summit will serve to develop economic and commercial cooperation and consolidate the relations between our peoples.

Cuban People's Sympathy Over Earthquake Noted

LD0812233688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Igor Fesunenko report from Havana]

[Text] Here in Havana, as in the whole of the Republic of Cuba, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech at the session of the UN General Assembly in New York has prompted very lively interest. This country's public ardently approves of and welcomes our country's peace initiatives aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war and at strengthening international relations and an atmosphere of trust, mutual understanding, and cooperation. This is vitally important for Cubans: After all, for virtually all the 3 decades that have passed since the victory of the revolution, this country has felt itself to be a forward post of the socialist community, one situated just 90 miles from the largest imperialist power. From this stems the constant striving to strengthen the fatherland's defense capability and the never-weakening readiness to repulse the enemy at any moment. [video shows Fesunenko talking to camera, general street scenes]

The statement on the tragedy in Armenia which was made today at a news conference in Havana at 0300 local time by Komplektov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and broadcast there and then by all Cuba's radio stations, has given rise here to a general wave of condolence, solidarity, and sympathy for the victims of the earthquake, their relatives, and the Soviet people. Jorge Gomez Barata, the official representative of the Cuban leadership who took part in the news conference, stated that Cubans are grieving and sharing the pain of the Soviet people in connection with the natural disaster that has afflicted them, and that they understand well the causes of the temporary cancellation of the visit to this country by Comrade Gorbachev that had been planned for 9 December. The Cuban people, Gomez Barata said, are ready to give Comrade Gorbachev a cordial and warm reception at any other time. [video shows Komplektov and four unidentified officials seated behind desk at front of hall for news conference]

CIA Behind 'Hijacked' Nicaraguan Helicopter

LD0812153088 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Managua December 8 TASS—A helicopter of the Sandinist Air Force was hijacked last Wednesday on the assignment of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Edwin Estrada, a CIA agent who acted with the Sandinist People's Army, crossed by helicopter the republic's northern border and landed it at a Honduran military base, the Nicaraguan defence ministry reported.

The Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry now takes efforts for an immediate return of the Army helicopter and extradition of the criminal to stand trial in Nicaragua.

At the same time it has been learnt that Honduran Army units fired mortars and machineguns once again at a Nicaraguan border post in the area of Marupuchi settlement in the northern department of Nueva Segovia on December 4. According to the Defence Ministry, this border post came under unprovoked massive bombardments from Honduran territory 13 times.

Ortega Rejects U.S. Conditions on UN Visit

PM0812140388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Cherepanov dispatch: "D. Ortega: I Could Not Accept These Humiliating Conditions"]

[Text] Mexico City—Nicaraguan President D. Ortega has held a news conference here at the Foreign Journalists Association building.

As if anticipating our desire to find out whether he would be going to the United States, Ortega stated: "I am going to Nicaragua, because I could not accept these humiliating conditions. Our countries have a visa agreement. Decisions are made within 15 days. But I intended to go to the United Nations as my country's president. And in this instance these agreements do not apply. The U.S. Administration has violated international law.

"Moreover, my stay in that country would have been unbearable. I would have been allowed to move around only within four blocks in New York: from the home of our UN representative to the UN building. The United States also refused visas for the Nicaraguan journalists who would have accompanied our delegation on the trip. This is humiliating. Accepting such conditions would mean submitting to U.S. tyranny."

In answering a question about Soviet-U.S. contacts to settle the Central American crisis, D. Ortega stressed that the USSR's position wholly coincides with the aspirations of the Latin American peoples to establish peace in the region. As for the United States, in his view, it is continuing a policy of destabilizing the region and clinging to old aggressive ideas.

Victims of U.S. 'War' in Nicaragua Viewed

LD0412141088 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Managua December 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

The undeclared war which the United States conducts against Nicaragua through the contras has orphaned more than 16,000 Nicaraguan children. Four thousand civilians sustained heavy injuries and were maimed as a result of terrorist acts by Somocistas. These data were given to journalists by the Nicaraguan Institute for Social Maintenance and Welfare.

Despite the tremendous economic difficulties being experienced by the country, the Sandinist government took it upon itself to bring up and educate the orphans. Each of the 16,000 under-age Nicaraguans whose parents died at the hands of the contras will be given all-round assistance by the state until the age of 21.

The Nicaraguan Government also takes care of the health of people who were crippled as a result of the bandit actions by the contras.

Reynaldo Antonia Tefel, director of the institute, told journalists that the people of Nicaragua had become a victim of flagrant violation of human rights on the part of the United States.

Washington maintains that it seeks "the establishment of democracy in Nicaragua". However, tens of thousands of ruined lives and the death of tens of thousands of Nicaraguans are a convincing evidence that the U.S. policy with regard to Nicaragua is the most flagrant violation of elementary norms of international law, Reynaldo Antonio Tefel emphasized.

Mexico Meetings Assessed as 'Useful, Fruitful'

LD0812171588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0741 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Mexico City, 8 Dec (TASS)—"Our stay in Mexico," P. Khabibullayev told journalists, "was useful and fruitful, filled with interesting meetings and conversations. It took place in an atmosphere of frankness, mutual understanding, and confidence. This corresponds fully to the traditionally friendly nature of Soviet-Mexican relations.

"The meetings and conversations in Mexico convincingly confimed that the new political thinking, which is at the base of the USSR's foreign policy, is finding ever broader understanding and support. We express our sincere satisfaction with the fact that the Soviet and Mexican peoples are united in their awareness of the need to outlaw nuclear war and secure a safe future for this generation and for those to follow."

Political & Social

Devastation, Relief Efforts in Armenia Detailed

Gorbachev Returns to Moscow

LD0912033288 Moscow TASS in English 0330 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—Interrupting his foreign trip, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev returned to Moscow from New York today in the morning.

Eduard Shevardnadze, member of Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who accompanied him in the trip also returned to Moscow together with the Soviet leader.

Armenian Party, Government Appeal

LD0812203688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our correspondents report from the areas of the natural disaster in Armenia.

[V. Nazaryan and Ye. Orlov—identified by caption] This is the ruined city of Leninakan. The clock in the main city square stopped at the very moment the terrible blow struck. Armenia's second largest town is in ruins. We saw buildings turned into heaps of concrete and girders, and schools and kindergartens reminiscent of mounds of rubble. We saw people, their faces filled with inexpressible pain and grief. It is a tragedy that you cannot express in words. According to preliminary data, the unprecedentedly powerful earthquake demolished two-thirds of Leninakan, while the town of Spitak, 70 kilometers away, with a population of more than 20,000, has been practically wiped off the face of the earth. In the disaster areas as a whole, hundreds of thousands of people have been left homeless, and tens of thousands have been killed. [video shows clock on a building showing 11:42; piles of rubble; rescue workers, including troops, clearing debris]

Today, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's supreme soviet presidium and council of ministers adopted an appeal to the citizens of Soviet Armenia. Its words are imbued with sentiments of grief and sympathy to the families and near ones of those who died. They express faith in the strength of the spirit, courage, and staunchness of the Armenian people. December 9 and 10 have been proclaimed days of national mourning in the republic. The whole country, all union republics, are now coming to the aid of those who suffered in the earthquake. May the towns that will rise from the ruins be a monument to the victims of the natural disaster, the appeal says.

Thousands of Yerevan's blue and white collar workers, students, and men of the Soviet Army today took part in rescue work. People are donating blood. Prominent surgeons and traumatologists have arrived from throughout the country, and have already commenced work.

Account No 700-412 has been opened at the Yerevan branch of the Zhilsotsbank, and money has started to come in to the fund—set up to help the victims—from enterprises, organizations, and citizens. [video shows people picking through rubble; cranes clearing debris; an object, presumably a body, being dragged from ruins on a sheet of canvas; ambulance workers]

Nuclear Test Connection Denied

LD0812231288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2120 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 8 Dec (TASS)—"We expect fresh tremors in the nearest future in the area of the earthquake that occurred on 7 December in Transcaucasia. As far as their strength is concerned, they should not be so powerful," said Nikolay Shebalin, a laboratory head at the Earth Physics Institute, in an interview on the "Vremya" television program.

Describing the earthquake, the scientist said that its center extended for at least 50 km and embraced the northernmost part of Soviet Armenia. According to very preliminary information, the force of the main shock at its epicenter was in excess of 9 points.

Nikolay Shebalin stated that the earthquake was in no way connected with nuclear tests. Special experiments, conducted in particular by scientists in the United States, have shown that nuclear explosions of any magnitude are unable to trigger off an earthquake.

9, 10 Dec Days of Mourning

NC0912144288 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] [No dateline as received] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers have decided the following:

Because of the earthquake that took place in Leninakan and Kirovakan cities and in Spitakskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Amasiyskiy, Gugarkskiy and other rayons ina the republic on 7 December, which resulted in great human losses, 9 and 10 December 1988 will be marked in the republic as days of mourning.

On these days all the activities of theaters and cultural-educational institutions will halt.

The Armenian state flag will be flown at half mast on the buildings of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the Armenian SSR ispolkoms of local soviets of peoples deputies, the Armenian SSR ministries, the state committees and administrations, establishments and organizations, as well as on residential houses.

Commission Passes Measures

LD0812200988 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—A Politburo commission led by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has arrived in Armenia. The purpose of the commission is to coordinate nationwide efforts to eliminate the effects of the strong earthquake which shook northern Armenia on December 7 and which inflicted considerable damage and loss of life.

The commission members conferred with the republic's leadership in the building of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee this morning. Leaders of some federal ministries also took part in the conference. A number of large-scale and urgent measures were decided upon at the conference to provide emergency relief, and the main directions of the commission's activities were planned.

It was decided to call in additional military units, including those specialising in engineering, and send in high-powered up-to-date machinery, truck-mounted cranes and heavy-duty helicopters, to provide homeless people with makeshift housing and give them accommodation in holiday homes and other health resorts, to provide them with warm clothes and with the assistance of army units to set up emergency feeding for quake victims.

Hundreds of physicians and other medical personnel have already arrived from various cities. Instructions were issued to expedite the supply of building materials and prefabricated houses.

The misfortune that has befallen Armenia is being keenly felt by the entire family of peoples of the Soviet Union. This is illustrated by the number of letters and telegrams, and messages of condolence that are streaming in from all over the country on these dramatic days.

It is possible to overcome the misfortune only through joint efforts, through mutual assistance and sympathy. Considering other republics' numerous suggestions about relief for the quake-stricken areas of Armenia, it was decided to hold a meeting of deputy chairmen of the union republics' councils of ministers in charge of construction, in Yerevan on December 9. The meeting will map out a program for the concrete participation of all republics in eliminating the effects of the earthquake.

Following the morning meeting, commission members travelled to the worst-hit areas. They visited the towns of Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan where they thoroughly familiarised themselves with the state of affairs and assessed the damage. They had numerous meetings with residents of the towns. People spoke of the common misfortune, thanked the commission members for the prompt aid, for the humaneness and words of profound sympathy and support addressed to the people of Armenia by Mikhail Gorbachev. At the same time they expressed great concern over the fact that rescue operations and the clearing of obstructions in towns and settlements had not reached the scale required by the situation.

In answer to people's questions Nikolay Ryzhkov emphasised that the amount of damage in the quake-hit areas was great, and that the main task now is to secure that there is no shortage of machinery, particularly truck-mounted cranes, metal-cutting outfits, and transportation, including helicopters, anywhere. He said the Politburo commission would do its best to alleviate the grief that had befallen people as soon as possible.

Taking part in conversations with local people were Politburo member and Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee Nikolay Slyunkov, Soviet defence minister, alternate member of Politburo Dmitriy Yazov, and Deputy Prime Ministers Yuriy Batalin, Lev Voronin, and Boris Shcherbina. When touring the worst-hit areas the commission members were accompanied by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party.

Taking into account what they had seen, the commission took a number of additional measures to accelerate all rescue and rehabilitation work.

Ryzhkov Speaks to Public

LD0812225088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Yerevan today. [video shows Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Yazov and others coming down aircraft steps and being welcomed]

The commission includes Comrade Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense; and Comrades Batalin and Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers. After a conference at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the members of

the commission set off for the disaster area and began work. [video shows central committee conference, and Ryzhkov talking to people in street]

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov spoke with people and described the measures that the government of the country is now undertaking to aid the victims and to eliminate the consequences of the disaster.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] It is a very grave situation, and I must say that enormous efforts are needed to return things to normal, as they say, after what has happened. The situation in Leninakan is very difficult. There have been 120 buildings completely destroyed. The town of Spitak has been completely destroyed. Here, where we are, there is less destruction.

Without assistance from all the republics it will be impossible to cope with the work here. The republic is now adopting considerable measures. A large number of people from Yerevan is now working—several thousand people are engaged in clearing the debris. Equipment has been brought from all building sites. The entire Soviet Army is sending in engineering regiments specially to remove debris, to clear debris. We believe that the main task today is to clear debris and to release, to bring out the people who are alive there, including the injured, and the dead have to be found. That is the paramount task, the paramount task.

People are selflessly working day and night. They are clearing the rubble, but there is a shortage of equipment. Equipment is needed—I repeat, equipment. Only it can save people. So I would like to make an appeal about this. We are going to adopt a decision tonight to mobilize all the equipment that is capable of operating here. In addition to the military, we want to get all enterprises to help as well—not only in Armenia, but also in other republics and different branches of the national economy.

We need truck-mounted cranes with a lifting-capacity of 16, 20, and 40 tonnes. We need oxyacetylene cutting experts, with the requisite equipment and gas cylinders. We need to arrange this in two shifts, because work has to go on round the clock here. And I would ask, I appeal to all enterprise managers, labor collectives, and party organizations not to wait for us to adopt a decision and for it to reach them. The equipment I mentioned, plus rubber- tire mounted earth-moving machines as well, need to be literally loaded on trucks and flatcars today and sent here to Armenia. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers is coordinating the work.

It is mainly Leninakan and Spitak that are involved—the equipment must mainly go there. And of course this latter town must be (?helped)—yes. Of course, there has been very severe destruction in areas adjacent to Spitak. So a very large amount of work has to be done now. This is a misfortune not just for the people of Armenia, it is a misfortune and a source of grief for our entire union, and only the union and all the republics can help and I appeal to all the republics and labor collectives to think through all the questions, as the phrase goes, about how to render assistance in this great misfortune that has come to Armenian soil. [end recording]

More on Ryzhkov Tour

LD0912133988 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov, who chairs the Politburo commission set up in the wake of the Armenian earthquake, today left for another visit to Leninakan, a city devastated by the quake.

200 people have been retrieved from beneath debris during the daytime yesterday. There are also survivors in Spitak that was totally destroyed.

400,000 people in the stricken area were left homeless.

Yerevan hospitals have already accepted about 3,000 people wounded during the quake, hundreds of injured were brought by planes and helicopters to Tbilisi and other cities in Soviet Georgia, a neighbouring republic.

Telephone and telegraph communications, electric power lines and running water pipes in the disaster areas are being urgently restored.

Mobile electric power plants have been sent into the stricken regions. More than 15,000 students from the Armenian capital are clearing destroyed apartment blocks, offices and industrial facilities.

A two-day mourning has been announced in Armenia.

ARMENPRESS Reports Quake

NC0912132088 Yerevan ARMENPRESS International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan, 9 December, ARMENPRESS—As we have already reported, at about 1141 on 7 December a strong quake shook several cities and rayons in the republic, resulting in damage and much human loss.

The epicenter of the quake which was 10 km from Spitak city, registered 10 units [on a 12-unit scale], while the quake in Yerevan registered 6-6.5 units.

Following that, the Yerevan seismological center registered various weaker tremors with [word indistinct] tendencies.

Akhromeyev, Others on Relief Work

PM0812195188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 6

[Unattributed feature: "Time of Trial. Entire Country Goes to Armenia's Assistance"]

[Excerpts] The unprecedentedly severe natural disaster that has befallen Armenia saddens the entire country, and assistance to the victims is a most important matter for the Soviet people. Emergency commissions are operating. Union and republican ministries and departments are providing immediate assistance to Armenia. On the afternoon of 8 December IZVESTIYA correspondents sought information from their leaders. Here is what they said:

Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff:

"As of 8 December 6,500 servicemen, 25 teams of military medics, and 400 pieces of equipment are taking part in rescue work in the disaster regions. Armed forces aircraft and helicopters are evacuating the injured and homeless to rayons of Armenia which did not suffer. People needing medical assistance are also being admitted to Defense Ministry medical establishments. Army field kitchens have been deployed where the earthquake struck and food is being organized for the population and participants in the rescue operation. Tents and blankets are being issued from military stocks.

"Civil defense subunits will be deployed and sent to the disaster regions from 9 through 11 December. The Army will do everything to provide real assistance to alleviate the consequences of the terrible calamity for Armenia's people."

I. Denisov, USSR first deputy minister of health:

"Unfortunately, it is still difficult to assess the scale of the disaster or to give accurate numbers of the dead and injured. A large group of medical workers headed by Minister Ye. Chazov took a special Aeroflot flight to Armenia on the evening of 7 December. They will be supplied with all the necessary medical equipment and medicines to save the lives of victims. The ministry has set up a staff to coordinate all questions of rendering medical assistance to the injured."

A. Tyulyandin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Executive Committee:

"As soon as news of the earthquake arrived, we immediately started preparing an aircraft to fly aid to the victims. We got together blankets, clothing, kitchen equipment, and first aid material to a total of R146,000. The special flight took off for Armenia on the night of 7-8 December and the cargo was accompanied by Executive Committee Chairman D. Venediktov. Mobile units to collect blood from donors, which is now so badly needed to save the injured, were organized in Moscow that same night. Despite the late hour, hundreds of Muscovites responded to the appeal for blood—829 donors volunteered at the mobile units. Some 255 students gave blood at Moscow's Bauman Higher Technical School alone, and the blood collection unit worked all night. The units are still working under pressure today.

"The telephones have been ringing nonstop at our Executive Committee since early morning on 8 December. People are offering money and clothes, or they want to go to Armenia themselves to join in the rescue work. We have received telegrams of sympathy from many countries; we were called by the Bulgarian and Yugoslav embassies and offered help with medicines. The Executive Committee expresses thanks to all people who have responded to the disaster in Armenia.

"We know that many labor collectives in the country are collecting money for the victims of the earthquake—the money can be sent to Armenian SSR Red Cross Society account number 700302 at the Yerevan city administration of the Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development."

V. Yudashkin deputy chief of the Ministry of Civil Aviation Central Operations Control Administration:

"All the ministry's administrations are working round the clock. During the night the duty team is headed by a deputy minister. Practically all the country's civil aviation administrations are helping to deal with the consequences of the earthquake. Deputy Minister O. Smirnov has flown out to Armenia with a large group of aides to coordinate work on the spot.

"Extra aircraft and helicopters have been made available. Mi-10K helicopters are being sent to Yerevan from Tyumen and Syktyvkar and Mi-8 helicopters from the North Caucasus and Tu-154 aircraft are flying in from Riga and Leningrad... Unfortunately, the weather in Yerevan is not good. It is foggy. But some aircraft managed to slip through during the night and in the morning. Problems arise at every step, every minute. Everything has to be tackled promptly. There are no problems with fuel. A Tu-134 flew to Yerevan on 8 December carrying working groups from various ministries and departments. They are hastening to the rescue."

V. Bakatin, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs:

"Yesterday, immediately after it happened, instructions went out to the command of the internal security forces and also to the contingent which is already in Armenia in connection with the well-known events. Personnel have been released from their posts and dispatched to the disaster area. Some 6,000 people were involved in the rescue operation, pulling people out of the ruins all night without a respite.

"Today a special medical team of our ministry flew out to Yerevan. We have issued essential drugs and medicines, tents and blankets, and tens of portacabins from our stocks. V. Trushin, first deputy minister of internal affairs, has spent the past few days in Baku in order to coordinate operations to ensure the maintenance of public order. He has been instructed to go to Yerevan and to also send part of the personnel there. At the moment we are putting together two regiments of reservists. They will be sent to Armenia to provide necessary engineering and technical assistance. A team of fire fighters headed by the chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Fire Service Main Administration is also in the disaster area. All our staffers have been set three specific tasks. The first and most important is to rescue people of whom many are still buried in the debris; the second is to give assistance to the victims; and the third, to oversee the observance of public order and check any instances of looting or theft.

"The headquarters set up in our ministry will coordinate its work around the clock with the state commission and other ministries and departments."

Yu. Boyev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab:

"The first trains with goods for the earthquake-striken cities and rayons in Armenia are already on their way. The freight cars are carrying 70 buses equipped with living facilities, portacabins, concrete mixers, and mobile power stations.

"An operations group has been set up at the USSR Gossnab which is maintaining round-the-clock contact with Armenia. L. Voronin, chairman of the Gossnab is in the disaster area. Twice a day, at 0800 hours in the morning and 1900 hours in the evening telephone conferences are held at which priority questions pertaining to the provision of emergency aid to the victims are resolved.

"First of all it is necessary to provide shelter for the people who have lost their homes. For this purpose 130,000 tents, quick-assembly houses, and portacabins have been issued. In order to heat the temporary accommodation mobile heating and power plants are being dispatched from various towns in the Ukraine and the RSFSR. Priority goods include 200,000 sets of warm clothing, diesel fuel, and gasoline.

"More than 1,000 dump trucks, vehicle-borne machinery, and other equipment have been dispatched to the Kirovakan and Leninakan area for repair and restoration operations. Tens of plants (in various parts of the country) are as of 7 December dispatching construction materials only to Armenia.

"The damaged water mains are being temporarily replaced by mobile water tanks, and mobile canteens and cafeterias made from quick-assembly modules will help to resolve the food problem. In order to get restoration work started on a broad front simultaneously, around 1,000 concrete mixers are to be delivered to the earthquake-striken areas.

"The operations group's main task is to ensure the uninterrupted dispatch of goods. In order to rule out problems in the supply of freight cars and their progress toward their destinations, the USSR Gossnab and the USSR Ministry of Railways have signed joint instructions to this end."

Lieutenant General A. Kapochkin, first deputy chief of staff of USSR Civil Defense:

"All Armenian civil defense detachments have been mobilized. We have sent a civil defense military unit to Leninakan, for instance, where the damage is particularly severe.

"On 7 December I spoke to L. Melkonov, the republic civil defense chief of staff. He was in a hurry to get to Leninakan. Communications there had been disrupted. It was necessary to set up a communications center.

"Our detachments are taking part in the rescue and restoration operations alongside military subunits and volunteers also in Kirovakan, Spitak, and Stepanavan—in short, everywhere. Combined civil defense mechanized detachments are in action, and that means dozens, hundreds of trucks, bulldozers, and excavators. The situation is complex. But work does not stop for a minute..." [passage omitted]

The whole railroad network is now geared to Armenia.

"Forty km of track have been damaged," N. Konarev, minister of railways, told a TASS correspondent. "Traffic has been disrupted on the Leninakan-Kirovakan section. Eighty km of contact network have also been damaged. Administrative and technical buildings at Kirovakan, Leninakan, Archut, Spitak, Nalband, and Dzhadzhur stations have been damaged and two bridges have been dislodged."

At that moment the telephone rings.

"Excuse me, a call from the disaster area, Leninakan."

I hear the voice of V. Blazhiyevskiy, chief of the Transcaucasian Railroad, amplified over the loudspeakers:

"Many locomotives have been affected by the earthquake. We need help."

"Let us know a specific number and we will send you what you need as a matter of urgency."

Today the atmosphere at the ministry is much tenser than usual. However, nothing is out of control. Direct leadership of the coordination of traffic is being effected by First Deputy Minister G. Fadeyev. Deputy Ministers V Ginko and N. Isingarin have left for the disaster area.

"Nikolay Semenovich, can you name any stations from which goods to the disaster area have already been dispatched?"

'Cement from Siberia, fuel from Groznyy, dump trucks from Neftekamsk, grits from Krasnodar, vehicles from Naberezhnyye Chelny, bulldozers from Chelyabinsk... Practically the whole country is involved. In cooperation with the USSR Gossnab we are supplying freight cars as a priority for the transportation of construction materials, food, and medicines. I have only just signed a document," the minister says, "on granting R2 million of aid to the earthquake victims."

V. Yevtukh, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers:

"The government of the republic immediately outlined specific measures to render assistance to Armenia. The Belorussian SSR Gosplan, Gosstroy, and Ministry of Construction have been instructed to elaborate, as a matter of urgency, the formation of a construction and installation work train which will operate in the earthquake-stricken areas. I am flying out to Yerevan in order to assess on the spot the actual volume of work to be carried out with Belorussia's assistance. We are ready to do everything necessary to ensure that the fraternal republic heals its earthquake-inflicted wounds as quickly as possible."

Yazov Says Damage Worst 'Ever'

LD0912130188 Hamburg DPA in German 1156 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov has described the effects of the earthquake in Armenia as the worst he has ever seen. A spokesman from the Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS told the German Press Agency in Moscow today that, according to Yazov, this tragedy did not even permit comparison with the reactor accident at Chernobyl. Yazov is in Armenia as a member of the Moscow earthquake commission. [passage omitted]

Damage in Azerbaijan Reported

NC0912114388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Here is a report from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon: The strong earthquake which occurred in the Transcaucasus yesterday also caused damage in the Kelbadzharskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan. Many individual homes, administrative buildings, kolhoz installations, schools, clubs, and bridges have been destroyed. Economic damage has been caused [words indistinct].

A commission has been set up to deal with the results of the tremors. The commission is taking urgent measures with the help of Kelbadzharskiy Rayon's party and soviet organizations and social figures.

Losses in Leninakan Detailed

LD0912061688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Our special correspondents, Yuriy Korotkov and Kuryun Khomaryan report from Leninakan.

[Korotkov] It is only 110 km from Yerevan to Leninakan, but it has taken us almost 4 hours to cover the distance, making our way quite literally through convoys of vehicles rushing to aid the earthquake victims: powerful Belaz, (Kraz), and Kamaz vehicles, bulldozers, cranes, and other equipment, all of it thrown into the town to rescue those people trapped under the ruins. Practically all the vehicles we saw had their lights on, even in the daytime. This means they are carrying injured women, old men, and children out of the stricken area.

[Khomaryan] We were told by a member of the republican commission providing aid to those who have suffered, (Vardges Bagratovich Artryumiy), deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers [title as heard], that more than half a million cubic meters of housing were totally destroyed. The major proportion of remaining housing is unsafe. Practically all industrial enterprises were destroyed. More than 20 were based here. There is no water, gas, or electricity in the town. Practically all Leninakan's 230,000 inhabitants are without a roof over their heads. They have spent two nights on the streets already, keeping themselves warm by fire. More than 10,000 servicemen and workers from many of the republic's towns have been brought in and are working to dismante the buildings that were destoyed and to evacuate the inhabitants. The government commission headed by Comrade Ryzhkov studied the situation in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak yesterday and concluded that radical measures are needed to provide the rescue workers with the necessary vehicles, equipment, and construction materials.

[Korotkov] About 1,000 tents have been delivered to Leninakan; food is coming in, tanks of water, a great number of military and civilian doctors have been mobilized and are providing the injured with first aid and taking them to hospitals. Student detachments from Yerevan University, the Polytechnical Institute, and other higher educational establishments are providing substantial assistance. everything is being done to eliminate the consequences of this natural disaster.

Alternate Routes Urged

NC0912115488 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0930 GMT 9 Dec 88

[From the unscheduled newscast]

[Summary From Poor Reception] "Attention dear radio listeners: The republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs informs" that relief is being constantly sent to the

quake-stricken areas from the Yerevan-Leninakan and the Yerevan-(?Gugark)-Kirovakan routes. Because of this, "a traffic jam has been created on these routes" and is hindering the quick delivery of relief to the quake-sricken areas. "The Ministry of Internal Affairs, with the agreement of the republic's government" calls on the people to use "the Yerevan-Oktemberyan-Leninakan and the Yerevan-[name indistinct]-Kirovakan routes."

PRAVDA Describes Devastation

PM0912101588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 6

[Special correspondents A. Sarkisyan and V. Khatuntsev dispatch: "Our Pain and Tragedy. Devastating Earthquake"]

[Text] **Yerevan—The earthquake's epicenter was 50 km from Leninakan. The loss of human life runs into thousands, and many buildings have been totally destroyed.**

Leninakan, Kirovakan, Stepanavan, Spitak, and the republic's northern rayons suffered in particular. Strong tremors were also felt in Yerevan, but there was neither loss of life nor destruction in the capital. The Caucasus has not been struck so seriously by nature in the last 80 years.

Leninakan is Armenia's second most important city. People were still in a state of shock at the break of dawn. But not a single window in the surviving buildings showed any light. That was not because power supplies had been disrupted—it was simply frightening and dangerous to stay behind in the apartments and even in one-story individual homes; aftershocks could occur at any time.

Calamity does not choose a convenient time. When it happened one of us was transmitting the latest dispatch on events in the republic, the other was attending a session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. All we felt during the first few seconds was the floor shaking. The building started swaying like a ship at sea. The bureau session was interrupted. The first reaction was to telephone the Armenian AES. A calamity might have occurred there. The report came after a couple of minutes: All was in order at the power station. The tremor had registered force 5 near the AES. The power station stood up to it, there were not even any cracks. The power industry workers' settlement was not damaged either. A Central Committee secretary called chemical industry enterprises and the Physics Institute, where an accelerator was in operation.... No emergencies there, either. The Yerevan Gorispolkom chairman contacted the city rayons: No serious damage was reported.

It looked as if a sigh of relief could be heaved. Suddenly someone asked: Where was the earthquake epicenter?

"Probably in Leninakan," someone else hazarded a guess.

M. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of the Leninakan Party Gorkom, was nervously dialing a number. No answer.

"This cannot be," Misak Levonovich said, "someone must answer."

Army representative Yu. Kuznetsov, member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, tried to help. No, no contact with Leninakan.

"Go to the airport," he told M. Mkrtchyan. "Fly there by helicopter."

Yu. Kuznetsov issued an order over the telephone: Send helicopters off to four destinations in the north. As yet the only alarming news was the broken communications with the republic's second largest city. The Bureau session resumed. Nobody knew yet about the horrific misfortune that had befallen the land of Armenia....

Clocks in Leninakan had stopped at 1141 hours. They had stopped as a sign of major disaster.

While still in Yerevan, we learned from eyewitnesses of the tragedy that something terrible had happened. Just a handful of houses remained undamaged in Spitakskiy Rayon.

We reached the highway. Vehicles with their high beams on were coming from the other direction. They were obviously ferrying the injured. The nearer we got to Leninakan, the more our anxiety grew. We were preparing ourselves for the worst. But we could not have even imagined what we actually saw.

The remains of the buildings of two enterprises, as if after a bombing raid, stood on either side of the highway at the approach to the city. The streets were full of people. Children and women, huddled in blankets, sat on benches and odd chairs.

The extent of the calamity which had befallen the city became clear when we stopped next to a small hill of warped metal structures, bits of concrete slabs, panels, broken domestic utensils, people's belongings....

Just a few hours ago this mound was known as a "high rise"—a nine-story single-staircase block. Right next to it, helpless weeping people were digging into the ruins of the block, from where heartrending cries for help could be heard. Powerless to do anything, the survivors outside were confused, running to and fro. For the time being just a single crane stood by the ruins, doggedly trying with the help of volunteers to lift at least a fragment of a slab and make an opening through which people could be dragged out. One man was successfully pulled out alive from beneath the rubble. But an elderly woman had to be laid on the ground and her face covered with a blanket....

What can a single crane do, we thought, accusing the city authorities of sluggishness.

But just about 10 meters further on we saw another terrifying hill, now a burial vault. And then another, and another.... They all had been recently built nine-story prefabricated panel blocks.

By then it became clear that there was a shortage of equipment and machinery. The calamity was on a vast scale. Major emergency assistance was needed.

It proved impossible to get past the bridge and take the highway into the city center. The traffic jam looked as if it would delay us by at least 1 or 1 and ½ hours. We made our way on foot....

Dusk fell quickly and the night, so unwelcome to Leninakan's residents, suddenly enveloped the city in darkness. The city—without power, without water, without gas—appeared altogether defenseless. But there was no panic. Leninakan's residents, together with the soldiers and volunteers from other cities in the republic who had come to help, did not for a minute stop the rescue work and brought out the injured, women, and children. Fires were burning in the squares and near the single-story older homes, and the town's residents, huddled in the warmth, were getting ready to spend the night in the street.

Attempts to save surviving children at the destroyed No 9 Secondary School continued throughout the day. Unfortunately, only a handful had survived. A child's body was passed to a father who had lost his senses with grief. He carried it away, hugging it close to his chest....

We were unable to find the operations center. The party gorkom building had also been destroyed. Apartment blocks and toppled telegraph poles lay in rubble all around along with broken power wires.

We happened to meet with a group of fire officers. S. Khachatryan, chief of the city fire department, was one of the first to travel round the city.

"I couldn't believe my eyes, there were so many ruins," Samvel Sarkisovich recounted. "There were small fires springing up that threatened to get much larger. All our units were put on alert and we requested aid from Yerevan. Above all, we managed to bring under control a fire at the oil depot near a textile combine. A fire-fighting headquarters was rapidly set up. In the first few hours after the earthquake firemen managed to save around 80 people from under the rubble. But we don't know how many are still to be saved. Have you heard any groaning?"

Neither the rescuers nor, much less, the parents of the trapped schoolchildren could bear to hear their groans. A searchlight picked out the tank alongside which the kids' bodies had been placed.

Very many people have been injured or crippled. The quakes destroyed the production buildings of the "Strommashina" plant, the electronics plant, the textile combine, and the hosiery factory. Considerable damage has been done to the country's economy, if one takes account of the enterprises in other cities and population centers in the republic that have also been put out of action.

In Kirovakan—Armenia's third-largest city—around 40 apartment blocks have been completely destroyed and dozens have been rendered unsafe. The machine-tool plant, the grain plant, and other installations have been affected. The chemical enterprises were particularly worrying. In the first few hours after the disaster they were placed under strict control. Water and power supplies in the city had been restored by morning.

At 2206 local time there was an aftershock, and it seemed that the underground disturbances were not over: In Spitak, for instance, strong vibrations were felt every 2 hours. The strength of the most destructive quake is shown by the fact that some instruments went off the end of the scale, which clearly demonstrates a level of 10 or more points [on the Soviet earthquake scale, approximates to 8 on the Richter scale].

The governments of the country and the republic have taken emergency measures to provide assistance. The Yerevan party gorkom and raykoms rapidly mobilized Communists and specialists to travel to the disaster areas. Some 12,000 people and hundreds of cranes, excavators, and trucks had already reached the five most severely affected sites by nightfall.

Hundreds of inhabitants of the republic's capital presented themselves at blood-donor centers. All medical personnel were assembled at their places of work and posted to the affected areas. The injured are flooding into the hospitals: More than 500 people have been brought into Kirovakan alone by special bus.

As is always the case when disaster strikes, the first people to begin rescue work were servicemen from the USSR MVD internal forces and the Soviet Army.

"We arrived in Spitak between 2 and 3 in the afternoon, and we saw for ourselves that the city was in ruins," Lieutenant General N. Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, recounted. "The first thing we did was save people. An hour later 1,200 soldiers had arrived and immediately started manhandling the rubble away. Later another 5,000 servicemen were sent to Leninakan and Spitak. We managed to save hundreds of lives. The servicemen, who are of many nationalities—Uzbeks, Russians, Kirghiz, Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Balts—have been working with utter selflessness. It should also be noted that there has not been a single recorded case of looting or mercenary-minded crime in the disaster areas in the past 24 hours. By nightfall excavators, cranes,

transportation, food, and warm clothing had been dispatched to Leninakan, Kirovakan, and the other stricken areas. Blood-donor centers have been organized at several Yerevan clinics and hundreds of people have already given blood. The tragedy has shaken the people and appealed to the brightest feelings of international unity."

...It was hard to look at the ruins of Leninakan late at night. In the squares flickered camp fires around which women and children were huddling. Floodlights glared over the ruined buildings and soldiers were removing slabs with cranes in order to get through to people who had been buried alive. Grief-stricken people who have lost children and parents wandered the streets of the city. And there was no light in any window—not even a candle or a gas lamp.

The road from Yerevan to Leninakan, of course, was probably even visible from space because of its kilometers-long chain of fires. People rushed to their relatives for help. "First-aid" vans were rushing around. Heavy equipment was arriving. Additional military units were being brought in...

This is one more sorrow for the country, one more suffering for tens and hundreds of thousands of people. We do not know if there will be any aftershocks—it is hard to make predictions in this area—but one thing is certain: The people will not be left alone in their suffering, their pain will be shared, and the hand of support extended. That is the basis of the old truism—a friend in need is a friend indeed.

Civil Defense 'Impotence' Cited

PM0912130088 KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 pp 1, 4

["Latest Reportage" by special correspondents N. Varsegov, G. Ivanov-Smolenskiy, and V. Umnov under the general heading "We Are Together"]

[Text] Armenian SSR, 8 Dec—Until you have been touched by tragedy, you cannot understand it.

Not for nothing is man designed and built as he is... He has tenacious defense mechanisms, reflexes that protect him against excessive psychological blows—otherwise his mind could not withstand it.

We went into the city of Leninakan. We went in, as if going to war. A cruel, modern war.

For the rest of the night and the whole of the following morning, pictures paraded persistently before our eyes, pictures which God preserve us, or you, or anyone from ever seeing again. Huge piles of debris and concrete slabs, from under which people are pulling flattened refrigerators, television sets, and other household goods—piles in no way reminiscent of the nine-story "tower blocks" that stood here only 6-7 hours ago. People who have not yet recovered from shock, wandering restlessly like sleepwalkers through the wet, muddy streets, warming themselves against the cold mountain evening at camp fires, sometimes talking with those who are still alive beneath the wreckage. And most terrible of all—in the bright light of a searchlight, three ruined stories of a school, the cold, unnaturally twisted body of a child, a mother sobbing as she presses to her breast her child's open wound...

People can be blind and cruel when they are angry. But impassive nature can be more cruel and implacable. It has struck a blow against Armenia and its people the like of which has not been experienced in the Caucasus for 8 decades. Like Tyutchev's tragic words: As souls look down from on high at their abandoned bodies... There are thousands and thousands of such looks in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak... Tens and hundreds of thousands of people for whom these looks are irreplaceable—the relatives and loved ones of those who died. We write these lines in the car on the way to Spitak.

Not far ahead of us looms a white Zhiguli. The black lid of a coffin is somehow improbably squeezed into the car, while on the back seat are large loaves of bread. For the funeral meal.

Armenia is in mourning, in grief.

...But life must go on.

On the road to Leninakan and Kirovakan the traffic is jammed solid, there seem to be vehicles here from all over the republic. Many of them have large loaves of bread on the back seat. To feed those who are still alive.

Yes, the whole republic, the whole country has now responded with a single sigh, a single impulse to the grief of the devastated cities. Yes, even today, on only the second day of the tragedy, a mass of equipment has accumulated in Spitak, Leninakan, and Kirovakan, and hundreds of doctors have flown or driven in. Yes, all this is true.

But yesterday, but at first, in the first hours... In the endless, unending traffic jams, in the semiparalysis of Leninakan by night, whenever the pain of what we had seen receded for a moment, we caught ourselves thinking bitter thoughts. How in many countries they do not simply love rapid, convenient driving—they "also" understand the strategic significance of their expressways and highways. We thought how much we could write about the impotence, the sluggishness of our civil defense system. How we all cut our teeth on criticizing the quality of our construction and installation work. (The Armenians' sincerity and the way they pull together during these hours can cause nothing but admiration.) But where were the seismologists, architects, and clerks of the works who designed and built apartment blocks that collapsed like matchboxes. We wondered, finally,

why it was that 6 hours—6 whole hours!—after the underground shocks in Leninakan, outside each former apartment block there was at best a single crane tinkering helplessly.

These thoughts were, alas, our constant companions over the last 24 hours. They were still with us yesterday when we entered the city of Spitak.

By a cruel irony of the elements, the first few buildings as we entered this city of 20,000 were intact, and camouflaged the traces of the earthquake's blows. The irony was indeed cruel. Leaving the car, we walked along the central street. After walking about a kilometer, we still had not found out what the street used to be called. Virtually all the buildings have turned into heaps of ruins. Only on the balconies of some that were still half-standing, strings of onions hang and washing flutters in the breeze—as if the housewife had just washed it. Here and there cracks snake across the pavement and the sidewalk. Firemen are putting out fires in some of the ruins. Along the roadside people sit on wire netting, mattresses, bundles, their faces stony with grief. The streets and sidestreets are literally packed with people who have come here from nearby districts. The operational headquarters is near the former market. Here too is an assembly point for the injured. And a thin old man comes past us, carrying a girl of about 6 who has just been brought out from the ruins—alive.

"We have now basically started up rescue operations," Lieutenant Colonel P.B. Novakovkiy, military commandant of Spitakskiy Rayon, tell us. "At first the main burden fell on the soldiers and MVD subunits who arrived. We must make more effort efficiently to organize the work of the people who have come in from other regions, sometimes poorly equipped and helpless. Party raykom First Secretary Norik Grigoryevich Muradyan, who has himself lost three sisters, is still literally in the front line. I wish to mention the teams from Razdan and Aparanskiy and Aragatsskiy Rayons. They have brought their own picks and spades. On the first night alone, 700 people were taken to the nearby Ashtarak hospital. Help has come from neighboring Georgia too. The first column arrived from there at 0300 hours. More and more equipment is pouring in from all the areas that were not affected by the earthquake. But the shocks were too severe, virtually all the city's residential and administrative buildings were destroyed or damaged, and unfortunately there is very little hope of rescuing those who remain under the ruins. But we are continuing to work."

We turn into a sidestreet off the former central street. Unlike Leninakan, whose drama we told you about yesterday, here in Spitak nearly all the one-story houses were destroyed too. Not to mention the multistory blocks, including the vocational and technical school, where studies were in progress, the hospital, where only two people were saved, and the knitwear factory, where the working shift was in full swing. They are still dragging "finished products" out from under its wreckage—brown jackets—as well as the "raw materials"—rolls of textiles.

"We are taking the dead and injured to the stadium," Lieutenant Colonel V.A. Kozlov, chief of department at the republic civil defense staff. "We have now set up two teams—immediate and specialized aid. Students from Yerevan Medical Institute are helping us too. We are trying to ship those who can be moved to Yerevan by helicopter as quickly as possible. But there are many people who are seriously injured, and some die even after they have been freed from the ruins..."

Helicopters take off from beside the stadium every 10-15 minutes. They give some people hope, rob others of hope. We watched the helicopters from a steep slope and, like Jack London's heroes who supported with their gaze the man jumping over the abyss, we silently willed the helicopters: "Get them there... Get them there..." From the slope a panorama opens up—as if the city had undergone a severe bombing.

...After enduring more than 3 and ½ hours in a hopeless traffic jam, we did not manage to proceed further, to Leninakan, yesterday. Where a traffic controller was most necessary, at the railroad crossing, there was no one—only a forlorn-looking lurid yellow motorcycle without an owner.

Yes, at first, basically in the first few hours of the tragedy, not everything is properly coordinated, the right hand does not always know what the left hand is doing. But we can and must understand this. Today, on all the jammed roads of Armenia, there are grief and compassion, human tears, and thousands, hundreds of thousands of people who instantly became "people with the same blood group." Today, during these hours, the whole of Armenia is a one-way street.

And that street leads to people.

TRUD Reports Tragedy, Relief

PM0912124788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Dec 88 pp 1, 4

[Report by TRUD special correspondents Yu. Dmitriyev and A. Stepanov: "Courage"]

[Text] Yerevan-Leninakan—Tragedy. Only yesterday people were living their lives; today it is as if everything has been suddenly pushed into the background. The smiles have gone, doleful music is being broadcast. Republic television programs are being interrupted by news from the disaster area. There has been a call for all inhabitants to give blood to save the victims. The authorities are asking people not to use the telephone unless absolutely necessary—so busy are the lines—and not to go out in their cars, so that transport carrying earthquake casualties can get through easily.

The commission to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake had not yet been set up, but people were already expressing their willingness to help the victims. Here is just one example: In the capital, outside the party raykom building, which is next to the "Erebuni" hotel, we saw a crowd of people standing with bundles of simple food and asking for buses to carry them, hurry them to the rescue. Offers of help are arriving from all over the country.

Police organs and troops of the internal forces have joined in the battle against the aftermath of the matural disaster. Here is republic Internal Affairs Minister U. Arutyunyan's account:

"Many officers encountered the unexpected underground shocks when they were at their posts—while they were on duty or patrolling streets and squares. They were all able to give assistance to victims. And, of course, protection of facilities of national economic significance and a number of important enterprises had to be organized immediately. In fact, many of our personnel were made homeless during those few minutes and members of their families—wives, children, mothers—were killed or seriously injured. Personnel of the internal affairs department in the totally destroyed rayon center of Spitak either died among the debris of the department building or were badly maimed. The survivors, despite their injuries, went to the aid of the victims. Around 50 percent of the republic's police officers have gone to the disaster area..."

Disaster unites everyone. Soviet Army subunits are taking all the requisite steps to safeguard public order and evacuate citizens from devastated areas. Convoys of trucks carrying drugs, food, warm clothing, tents, and engineering equipment are headed for the disaster areas. Teams of top medics have arrived there, including Army surgeons, therapists, and orderlies. Blood is being collected for the victims.

The elements did not spare Leninakan and Kirovakan and many towns and settlements in Spitakskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Amasiyskiy, and Gugarskiy Rayons. The brief shock killed thousands and thousands of people and turned the majority of public buildings and houses into ruins. The Armenian Nuclear Power Station was not affected and it is operating normally, supplying the republic's cities and villages with power. Chemical and other enterprises in Yerevan are fully operational.

...The roads are crammed with vehicles, convoys of drugs, food, and essential goods headed for the epicenter of the tragedy. The unfortunate victims, requiring medical assistance, are being taken out.

Leninakan is Armenia's second biggest city. Or it was the second biggest. It is difficult to say at the moment how many people were killed there, but the devastation is such that the city will effectively have to be rebuilt. Most of the buildings have been totally destroyed. The elements did not spare schools, kindergartens, and hospitals. Indeed, at the terrible moment of the earthquake lessons were taking place and unsuspecting kids were playing. Doctors were dealing with patients. Can you imagine a sadder scene: Next to the ruins, shocked parents whose children did not come out of school.. .

A pall of thick smoke hangs over the city, which is plunged in darkness. Fear has made people pour out onto the streets and they are warming themselves by bonfires. No one will risk returning to damaged, although still standing houses. But there are few of them. On Aragats Street, which is approximately 2 kilometers long, everything is in ruins. It is hard to imagine what stood in this or that particular place only recently. It resembles an enormous pile of rubble.

Searchlights cut through the darkness, cranes are chugging away. Medics are busying themselves with people who have been pulled out of the debris. Blood, groans, cries: "I am alive, help me!.." But how quickly can you help if you cannot reach people buried beneath rocks, beams, and chunks of metal?! The situation is aggravated by the fact that there is no light, no water, and no gas in the city—utilities have been destroyed. But there are more and more voluntary helpers among those engaged in eliminating the aftermath of the earthquake. Yerevan students and people from labor collectives in Armenia and neighboring republics are arriving.

At this time you can see with uncommon clarity the compassion, the constant willingness to help, to shoulder someone else's misfortune.

An emergency session of the republic trade union council presidium has just been held. It adopted a decision to give every victim a lump sum payment. Trade union council personnel are going to the disaster areas to get a clearer picture of people's needs and draw up lists of those for whom the AUCCTU allocates places in trade union health resorts and help with funerals for the dead.

Injured people are continuing to arrive in Yerevan. They are being placed in hotels. They are being given medical assistance...

AUCCTU Official on Efforts

PM0912124188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Dec 88 pp 1, 4

[Our correspondent V. Karpov interview with V.G. Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU: "We Will Stand Together"; first paragraph is TRUD introduction; last paragraph is editorial postscript; date, place not given]

[Text] Our correspondent V. Karpov asked V.G. Lomonosov, deputy chairman of the AUCCTU, to talk about what the trade unions are doing to aid the victims of the earthquake.

"The pain of the fraternal republic was felt in the hearts of all Soviet people. The tragedy of the peoples of Armenia has also become our tragedy and the grief of the victims of this terrible natural disaster is our common grief. During these grief-stricken days the AUCCTU expresses most sincere condolences to the working people and the people of Soviet Armenia."

The country's trade unions have decided to immediately take all possible steps to offer effective and efficient aid. An AUCCTU resolution has allocated thousands of places in trade union sanatoriums and tourist and recreational establishments in Georgia, the North Caucasus, and other regions of the country for housing people who have been left without shelter. They will be kept warm, fed, put under doctors' supervision, and provided with everything they need. Some R5 million has been earmarked from the trade union budget for material aid to the victims.

The AUCCTU has authorized trade union committees at enterprises, kolkhozes, and organizations to pay workers, employees, and kolkhoz workers who have met with misfortune a temporary disability allowance—an allowance, moreover, in line with the norms fixed for people who have suffered trauma, been maimed, or suffered occupational illness while working. Medical treatment establishments have been instructed to issue medical certificates and trade union organizations have been instructed to pay the cost of medical certificates amounting to 100 percent of earnings for looking after children, where necessary, for more than 14 days.

Reports are now coming into the AUCCTU from the localities regarding the steps that are being taken in republic, kray, and oblast trade union organizations. A commission has been set up in Belorussia, for instance, to provide aid to the victims. Funds, food products, medicine, bedclothes, and tents for dispatch on two transporters to Yerevan are now being collected in many labor collectives, above all those that have ties with Armenian enterprises. This work is being carried out particularly actively in Vitebsk Oblast.

A report has just come in that the Uzbek Republic Trade Union Council Presidium has transferred R100,000 to Armenia's trade unions. Practically every labor collective is seeking means to help the victims. For instance, all North Osetian organizations and enterprises have adopted a decision to transfer 2 days wages to Armenia. Many of this autonomous republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes are sending free food products, outerwear, and footwear. The trade union council has stated its readiness to take 600 people who have been left without shelter.

The Odessa Trade Union Council announced its readiness to admit 1,000 children from the afflicted rayons to the oblast's trade union sanatoriums.

Working people from Ryazan plants—those engaged in peat machine building and producing and processing nonferrous metals—have decided to send a day's pay to the relief fund for the victims.

Unselfishness and sincere support are typical of these reports. People are sharing everything that they have, and the main thing during these minutes and hours is how they can offer support as quickly as possible to those in trouble. We were told by people from the Timber, Paper, and Woodworking Industry Workers Union Central Committee and the USSR State Committee for Forests that many of the oblast's labor collectives have resolved to work an additional day in procuring timber and they will send all the above-plan timber free of charge to Armenia for reconstruction work there. People at Kiev's "Krasnyy Ekskavator" Production Association have planned to do voluntary unpaid work and send the earnings from this to Armenia...

Once again we can see that there is tremendous might latent in the unity of our country's peoples, which we can use to overcome any adversities and any trouble. We should only resist blind natural elements all together. The concrete aid that is now being offered to the Armenian people is convincing confirmation of this. This is also an example of the real fraternity and genuine friendship between Soviet people.

In connection with the numerous queries from trade unions and individual citizens as to where funds should be sent to help the victims, we announce that the money can be transferred to the following address: Yerevan, Spandaryan Branch of the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, Armenian Republic Trade Union Council Current Account No 695356.

Yerevan Committees Provide Aid

LD0812165588 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—City and district party committees in Yerevan have assumed the task of providing urgent aid to Armenian quake victims immediately after the natural calamity struck the republic, a TASS correspondent has just reported from the republican capital.

More than 12,000 factory workers, office employees and students from all city districts are taking part in rescue operations in the disaster areas. They are clearing debris and helping restore communications lines and social amenities.

Hundreds of Yerevan residents donate blood. The wounded are accommodated on a round-the-clock basis in the city's medical institutions. 2,300 people have been hospitalised so far.

Soviet Army units are taking the most active part in rescue work in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak and other towns.

Ambulances manned by skilled personnel and provided with medication and other means have been dispatched to Leninakan, Kirovakan and other areas. Strict control has been enforced on sanitation, units of emergency assistance to the wounded have been set up.

The Russian Federation, Belorussia, Georgia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Tajikistan and other republics have expressed readiness to extend all possible assistance to the quake victims.

The local population are provided with food stuffs on a regular basis. Drinking water tanks, fuel, bedding and other items and round-the-clock hot food have been provided.

Yerevan's production associations have sent mobile power plants and other electrical equipment to the quake-affected regions.

The Yerevan section of the Transcaucasian railway arranged for the transportation of people from the quake-hit areas and started work on restoring the damaged railway lines.

All building organisations in the republic mobilised necessary machinery for rescue and relief operations.

Azerbaijani Assistance Noted

PM0912141788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Dec 88 p 4

[Special correspondents A. Dzhapakov and T. Kasumova report: "In the Face of Misfortune"]

[Text] Baku—Misfortunes never arrive without being accompanied by something else. The earthquake which took away so many human lives, and brought huge destruction, has overshadowed the dramatic events of recent days.

Several days after they had returned to normal life and are putting all their effort into compensating for the losses, workers in virtually all the city's enterprises are now looking for opportunities to assist the fraternal republic. Misfortune unites people and pushes aside all else. Telegrams are being sent to various Armenian organizations, establishments and enterprises containing not only words of sincere sympathy, but also expressing willingness to participate directly in eliminating the consequences of the natural disaster. The Baku city soviet, construction workers from Shemakhinskiy Rayon, ministries and trade union organizations, also sent such telegrams.

At an emergency conference in the party gorkom it was decided to assemble several international combined teams to assist in restoring homes in Armenia destroyed by the disaster. The republic's biggest construction organizations—Glavbakstroy, Ministry of Construction Trusts No 4 and No 8, and the "Aztransstroy" Association—formed the first of these teams. They are taking all the materials necessary for this work: Cement, concrete, reinforced concrete structures, blocks of stone, and bricks.

The Azerbaijan republican trade union council approached the Armenian trade unions with a proposal to accommodate more than 4,000 injured people in the republic's sanitoriums. A large quantity of petroleum products, cranes, and mobile filling stations from Azerbaijan SSR special-purpose stocks were sent to Armenia.

The [Azerbaijan] republic's working people are appealing to their Armenian fellow-countrymen not to leave for Armenia where an already extremely complicated situation has taken shape as a result of the earthquake, and not to create additional difficulties, thereby diverting effort and means away from being used to eliminate the consequences of the terrible natural disaster. This is also mentioned in Baku Gorispolkom's appeal to city's Armenian population.

Internationalism, and a readiness to assist each other at difficult times have always been excellent qualities of all the peoples living in our country. It is precisely these feelings and not mutual settling of scores and insults, fanned by irresponsible people, which are felt today by all honest working people in Azerbaijan.

NKAO Offers Condolences, Aid

NC0912113488 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0930 GMT 9 Dec 88

[From the unscheduled newscast]

[Summary From Poor Reception] A cable of condolences has been received from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Obkom. The cable states that the Karabakh people are prepared "to extend assistance in reconstruction from the consequences of the calamity and to accept and shelter in the NKAO rayons the Armenian refugees and all [words indistinct] who have come to Armenia." The cable also states that the NKAO is prepared "to send between 300 and 500 experts" to help in the reconstruction.

Air, Rail Transport of Aid

LD0812230688 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 8 December carries a 4-minute report by Radio Moscow correspondent (Vladimir Mikhaylenko) on the transportation of aid to

the Armenian earthquake areas. (Mikhaylenko) is interviewed in the studio after having visited various ministries to find out how what they are doing to help the situation.

(Mikhaylenko) states that the Civil Aviation Ministry has been on round-the-clock duty since yesterday: According to eye witnesses, passenger and cargo aircrafts were circling above Yerevan all last night and all day today. He says they were bringing physicians, rescue, construction and repair workers.

(Mikhaylenko) is then asked why is it that the operation is carried out through Yerevan, is the airport in Leninakan not working? Mikhaylenko says that the Aeroflot pilots are working solely according to the tasks set by the governmental commission. He says: "As far as Leninakan Airport is concerned, as far as I know, the runway had not suffered there. And, consequently, if the necessity arises, it will receive and dispatch aircraft." He states that the aircraft are carrying first aid relief cargoes, such as medicines, blankets, tents, foodstuffs, and donated blood. Donated blood is being sent by a special aircraft. He adds that students from Moscow University and night shift workers from many Moscow enterprises were voluntarily giving blood last night for those who suffered.

(Mikhaylenko) then says that mining rescue teams have arrived in Armenia, too—quite a large detachment comprised of more than 600 experienced specialists has been formed and they are already carrying out search and rescue works. He says that around 400 of them are already on the spot and they are examining the ruins. These teams have arrived by air from Vorkuta, Syktyvkar, Karaganda, Donetsk and Voroshilovgrad, says (Mikhaylenko).

(Mikhaylenko) is then asked about the functioning of rail transport, because the basic part of construction materials and equipment will be sent to Armenia by rail. (Mikhaylenko) replies that today all railways received the minister's order to give a green light to all trains traveling to Armenia. He then says that passenger traffic has been disrupted at the Tbilisi-Yerevan section; quite a large section of railway has suffered and very difficult repair work is involved.

'Endless Stream' of Goods

LD0812223388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Powerful vehicles and tractor-trailer trucks with cargo are traveling along the roads of Armenia in an endless stream throughout day and night. All construction collectives of Yerevan, Abovyan, Razdan, Artashat, Sevan, and Dilizhan have already arrived in the calamity region with all available equipment and machinery. Operational headquarters headed by senior employees of the Ministry of Construction and leading rescue work specialists have been set up here. The republic's transport workers are driving to Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak, and other affected rayons with foodstuffs, mattresses, blankets, and ready-made housing kits. The trade and consumer cooperatives' workers joined this operation. Already in the morning bread, dairy products, meat-based products, canned food, and cisterns with drinking water were delivered here. The stream of loads is unceasing.

Chazov's 'Brief Interview'

PM0812195788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 6

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko: "The Earth Shook at Midday"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan—It looks very much like a war that we have only seen on the movie screen. [passage omitted]

But those who conclude from our story that uncontrollable chaos prevails in the city have misunderstood us. Here, as at the front line, there is a place from where the impetus for organized, intelligent action comes. As at the front, this place is known as staff headquarters.

...The motors of the small temporary power plant hummed fit to bust. Communications workers were laying cable in order to establish at least some communication with the center—Yerevan. There were several senior officers in the yard, awaiting orders and commands. Nevertheless there was some "civilian" bustle in the small office where V. Artsruni, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, had established himself.

"What do you mean, there are no more truck cranes?!" he shouted down the telephone. "Get everyone up, drag them from their beds, just so long as there are at least another 15 trucks here by morning! I repeat: At least 15! With the entire crew, the most experienced riggers. That's all! Get on with it!.."

By the desk Academician Chazov, USSR minister of health, is trying to explain to one of the local medics:

"We are in the front line. Let's act so. It is necessary to set up first aid posts. An aircraft will arrive shortly and deliver everything we need. Pitch tents in several places. Illuminate them with the help of trucks. We do it this way, we use the truck headlights. At these posts you give first aid to the injured and you sort them out. If necessary you dispatch them in vehicles to Maralik. That is very near. The Vishnevskiy Institute has already installed itself there. The others you send to Yerevan. The aircraft should be dispatched with teams consisting of a doctor and 2-3 nurses."

The minister allocates us 3 minutes for a brief interview:

"The medical sphere is doing all it can. The best specialists from the country's leading institutes have arrived in Armenia. We have already delivered large quantities of medicines, blood, blood substitutes, and single-use disposable syringes."

"Yevgeniy Ivanovich, can you think of a situation that is comparable with this?"

"I have Chernobyl behind me, I know what Arzamas was like, but I have not seen anything like this. The scale is simply catastrophic. Comparable only with Tashkent, maybe." [passage omitted]

...And the last important piece of news. The Armenian AES is working normally today, supplying cities and villages in the republic with electricity. Echoes of the shockwaves were felt here too: The force of the tremor in the area of the AES was 5 points. However, none of the earthquake-resistant installations show a single crack, according to M. Mkhitaryan, chief of the industry department of Oktemberyanskiy party raykom. Metsamor, the power station workers' settlement, has not suffered either.

Health Official Notes Prompt Aid

LD0812174688 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The first plane carrying 78 physicians left Moscow for Armenia 3.5 hours after the news of the devastating earthquake was broken, Soviet Deputy Health Minister Igor Denisov announced today.

On the same day specialists from the capital's leading research centres left for Armenia.

A commission of assistance to quake victims, set up at the ministry, operates round the clock. In Moscow, more than 800 volunteers donated their blood just in one night. Eight epidemiological teams are ready to go to Armenia.

"Medics from all republics offer their assistance," Denisov said. "The first quake victims were received by their neighbours in Georgia only a few hours after the earthquake.

1,500 beds have been prepared for the wounded in local hospitals. An air bridge connecting Tbilisi and the stricken regions has been established. The relief bank contains a large quantity of blood and blood substitutes: About one tonne has been brought from Kuibyshev, more than 1.5 tonnes from Ivanovo and the same amount from Kursk."

Offers of help were coming from international organisations, from the Red Cross societies of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the deputy health minister said.

Health Ministry Information

NC0912120288 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0930 GMT 9 Dec 88

[From the unscheduled newscast]

[Text] Dear radio listeners. We wish to relay that the soviet ispolkom's health administration has set up a [word indistinct] information (?center) in Yerevan's (?medical centers) for necessary information concerning sheltering the quake victims and on their health situation. In order to receive the necessary information you can call [words indistinct] 565492 and 587680. By giving the name and surname of the sick person, you can receive information on his health condition as well as on the hospital where he is located.

Red Cross Calls for Help

AU0812192588 Paris AFP in English 1917 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Excerpts] Geneva, Dec 8 (AFP)—The Soviet Red Cross on Thursday called on the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for urgent food, medical and financial aid for the victims of the earthquake which devastated parts of Soviet Armenia on Wednesday, the League said here.

Western governments and aid organisations were poised to launch an international operation to help survivors of the earthquake that killed at least 30,000 people according to first reports.

The "most immediate need" cited by the Soviet Red Cross was for medical products, particularly antibiotics, disposable syringes and needles, silk and surgical thread and material for collecting blood donations. Emergency food requirements consisted of tinned meat and fish, together with dried fruit and oats, the League said.

Red Cross aid is to be channelled through the organisation's headquarters in Geneva, where a special "aid for Armenia" account has been opened, the League said. It said it had already received offers from the Red Cross organisations in the United States, Britain, France, Greece and Norway. [passage omitted]

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfiliyev said earlier in Moscow that the Soviet Union would first try to manage with domestic supplies before calling for foreign aid.

"We are currently mobilising all our national resources and hope that they will be able to respond to the requirements, which are enormous," he said. [passage omitted]

Briefing Details Blood Supply

LD0812201788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] A news conference called today at the USSR Health Ministry also discussed the measures which medical personnel are undertaking in these anxious days. In the early hours after the natural disaster, essential aid began to arrive in Armenia. Blood is being collected in all regions of the country. Big batches of blood have already been sent from Kuybishev, Ivanovo, Kursk, Gorkiy, and Chelyabinsk. A large amount of blood from the Ukraine and Azerbaijan populations is in reserve. The selection and dispatch of blood is being done under strict checks which exclude the possibility of AIDS being spread.

In the southern areas of Georgia, which are located closest to the place of the natural disaster, 1,500 beds have been prepared for hospitalizing casualties. A helicopter link has been set up with the disaster area. In Stavropol, Krasnodar, and Moscow 1,000 beds have been made ready in each city. Specialized medical institutes and clinics have been prepared in the capital to receive people who have been in the disaster, and more than 1,000 doctors are ready to fly out to the disaster area at any minute.

Muscovites Donate Blood

LD0812171188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Excerpts] As has already been reported, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is cutting short his stay in New York in connection with the grave consequences of the earthquake that occurred in Armenia. [passage omitted]

The reception point at the Moscow blood donation center is working round the clock. Ten hospital divisions [otdeleniya statisionarov] are also receiving donors. Mobile brigades of doctors are working at Moscow enterprises. By noon today, about 3,000 Muscovites had given blood. Doctors are asking people who are willing to give blood to the victims to apply to the control center on telephone number 945-75-39 or 945-76-11. [passage omitted]

Telegrams of condolence in connection with the earthquake in Armenia are arriving from statesmen and public organizations abroad: Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain; Francois Mitterrand, president of France; Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of India; Gro Harlem Brundtland, prime minister of Norway; the League of the Societies of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent.

Plea for Blood in Tbilisi

LD0812163788 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Dear listeners. People who have suffered in the earthquake are being brought from Armenia to (?Tbilisi) hospitals. Blood and blood products are important for their treatment. The Georgian Ministry of Health (?asks) [words indistinct] to give assistance (to the Armenians) to give them a small amount of blood. Those who wish to do so can go to the republican blood transfusion centers. [passage omitted]

Georgian Party Meeting on Aid

NC0912105888 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 0537 GMT 9 Dec 88

[From the review of ZARYA VOSTOKA]

[Text] It is reported that the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the council of ministers of the Georgian SSR have examined the question of measures to aid the population of the Armenian SSR that suffered an earthquake.

A meeting of the Georgian party and economic aktiv was held on 8 December to discuss the political situation in the republic and measures for consolidating administration. The participants observed one minute of silence in memory of the victims of the fierce earthquake that struck Armenia and expressed their deep sympathy and condolences to the families who have lost dear ones. A report at the meeting was delivered by Comrade Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party.

World Leaders Send Condolences

LD0812222388 Moscow TASS in English 2208 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—In view of the strong earthquake in Armenia, the great extent of destruction and loss of life, the state leaders of many countries express the deepest sympathy with the quake victims and send in condolences.

Telegrams of condolence come in to the Soviet leadership from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, President Francois Mitterrand of France and President Francesco Cossiga of Italy.

Pope John Paul the Second, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, has expressed condolences to the Armenian people in view of the natural calamity.

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway writes that the Norwegian side is ready to contribute to the elimination of the effects of the earthquake. King Olav of Norway has conveyed the sympathies of the Norwegian people.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India conveyed heartfelt condolences to those affected by the tragedy.

The readiness of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to give assistance to the Soviet Union in eliminating the effects of the earthquake have been stated by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the FRG's minister of foreign affairs.

Condolences were expressed by Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita and Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno.

President Mauno Koivisto of Finland emphasized in his telegram that the whole world mourns over the tragic losses inflicted by the natural calamity.

Dante Caputo, president of the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly, at today's morning meeting expressed the deepest condolences to the Government and people of the USSR on behalf of the General Assembly members and on his own behalf.

Condolences were expressed by the leaders of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Mongolia, and Cuba.

A telegram of condolence has been sent in by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan expressed condolences to Mikhail Gorbachev. The White House officially announced that, prior to Gorbachev's departure from New York, Reagan called him up and expressed his personal deep condolence in view of the earthquake-caused death of people.

The president of Nigeria and the head of state of Burkina Faso expressed heart-felt sympathy in view of the loss of life.

It is also reported that the U.S. Red Cross has sent 50,000 dollars as a lump-sum aid to the quake victims in Soviet Armenia, and is preparing to send medical equipment and other materials to the Soviet Union.

The European Economic Community has offered aid to the quake victims.

Article Assesses Sakhalin Cyclone Damage

PM0712103188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[V. Miroshnichenko report under the rubric "Emergency": "Sakhalin: Winter's Powerful Blow" followed by commentary by I. Kuropatko, chairman of the Sakhalin Oblispolkom]

[Text] Now the most wanted items in short supply in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk are not padded jackets, Brazilian coffee, or French perfume, but hurricane lamps, kerosene stoves, and candles. Specialists who are able to give practical advice on how to trim the wick of kerosene stoves are very popular. The load on communications workers has significantly increased: The islanders are having to answer thousands of telephone calls and telegrams from the "mainland" from friends and relatives asking: What has happened in your part of the world?

As far back as 22 November meteorologists warned about the coming cyclone. The islanders do not need to get used to extreme natural phenomena, the usual precautionary measures were taken in such cases. But events developed in an extraordinary way. On 24 November two cyclones and an anticyclone "lashed down" on the south of the island, over territory inhabited by 525,000 people—about 80 percent of the area's population. The hurricane wind with a force of 40 meters per second was accompanied by rain and sleet, which in itself is a rarity in the oblast for the end of November. In a few hours all overhead communications, primarily power lines, had iced up. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the high-voltage power lines run mainly along the length of the island, and an easterly wind, which is "unusual" for wind roses here, was blowing. This suddenly raised the lines' wind resistance: Weighed down by many tonnes of ice, they broke like threads.... The supports, which had lost their natural supporting bracing wires, twisted and collapsed.

Waves 8 meters high washed away the bed of the main railroad and the highway in the area of Makarov, and the rails were left hanging over deep wash water. As a result of the inclement weather by 25 November the cities of Kholmsk, Dolinsk, Nevelsk, Chekhov, Gornozavodsk, and part of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and Korsakov were completely deprived of power. The "Dolinskaya," "Gornozavodskaya," "Shebunino," "Tikhmenevskaya," and "Yuzhno-Sakhalinskaya" mines stopped production. Water and heat supplies to most homes and production facilities in the south of the area stopped. On account of the disrupted water supply the Yuzhno-Sakhalinskaya TETS-1 almost came to a standstill. The forecasters did not exclude the possibility of imminent frosts.... Telephone links were disrupted, oblast radio and television were silent, and rayon newspapers did not come out on time.

Today, a week after the extreme weather conditions, the situation still remains extremely tense. Moreover, only now has it been possible to ascertain the damage sustained by the island oblast. About 80 percent (!) of the main high-voltage power lines and a significant proportion of the low-voltage lines have been ruined. The cities of Nevelsk, Kholmsk, Korsakov are able to survive only thanks to power supplied by vessels tied to moorings.

In many inhabited areas the shortage of water and heat is being felt, children's establishments are closed, the roofing has been torn from dozens of homes, 2 hectares of hothouses on the local sovkhoz have been ruined—the list goes on and on....

A few days ago V. Gorodnitskiy, deputy chief of one of the Ministry of Power and Electrification main administrations, was in Sakhalin. These are his impressions: "When you fly over a power line, the sight is simply awful—for tens of kilometers every single support has been blown down. If the lines had been bombing targets, the results, I think, would have been quite similar."

Even according to the most modest assessments, the direct loss to the oblast's economy alone is at least R53 million.

Now there are other facts which are giving cause for concern. Most of the enterprises in the oblast are obliged to have their own power supply to cope with unforeseen situations. This demand has by no means been fulfilled everywhere, but even in those places where there are mobile power units they could not be operated on account of malfunctions. Many of the systems used by power industry, communications, and transport industry workers were designed without taking into consideration Sakhalin's particular conditions, although this place has its own frame of reference: Natural cataclysms which are not normal for the country's European part are regular occurrences in the islands.

There is in the oblast a lot of official housing and socio-cultural leisure facilities, including those which belong to the military, but little attention is given to this sphere, and freeloading sentiments predominate. At a recent party obkom bureau meeting the leaders of the power workers, communication services, the forestry and paper industry, trade and public catering, and civil defense formations were given an impartial assessment to for their lack of organization and sluggishness in eliminating the consequences of the disaster. The state of complacency and the absence of a critical attitude to work is quite typical for certain oblast organizations. Not long before the catastrophe I attended a party report and election meeting at the "Sakhalinenergo" association. The debate concerned service in the volunteer militia, sponsorship of the sovkhoz, the need to raise the prestige of management apparatus workers, and problems of the engineering cooperative....

I do not want the reader to get the impression that the people of Sakhalin are sitting idly by and complaining about the disaster. Work to eliminate the consequences is developing in all directions. When they found out about the disaster on the island, a brigade from the Omsk "Sibelevatorspetsstroy" construction team expressed the desire to participate in reconstruction work, and one of the Khmelnitskiy Oblast plants is ready to assist with mobile gas turbine power stations, and there are other such telegrams from the mainland. I have no doubt that the islanders will again worthily overcome the consequences of the cyclones. But isn't it time finally to become diligent students of those harsh lessons which the disaster is offering us?

I. Kuropatko, Chairman of the Sakhalin Oblispolkom, Comments on the Report

Assessing the consequences of the disaster, one inevitably thinks that a great deal needs to be changed in our attitude to disasters, in the production and social infrastructures of the only island oblast in the country, and in mutual relations with central ministries and departments. The view of our oblast as just a base for raw materials, the notorious "left-over" principle in funding socio-cultural leisure facilities, and the opinion that exists in the center that Sakhalin "is no better than others" can still be felt today.

Just think: This blow dealt by the inclement weather disrupted, possibly for many months, the oblast's power industry and other vitally important sectors. We are clearly aware that the situation remains extremely serious. Do I need to say what catastrophic consequences another such blow would cause?

The main concern now is to make all the sectors resilient enough to get through the winter which has begun. All the efforts of the oblast emergency commission to eliminate the consequences of the disaster, which is working around the clock, are being directed toward this. But in the present conditions we cannot get by without major assistance from union-level ministries—the Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Railways, and also Gossnab and Gosplan. Judge for yourselves, today 3,200 tonnes of power line and at least 900 tonnes of metal structures are needed to restore the power system alone. Many other materials which are so essential since the disaster are in extremely short supply.

Tension Continues in Azerbaijan, Armenia

Baku Commandant on Arrests

LD0812185588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Information from the military commandant of Baku City Special District:

During the past day the situation in the city continued to return to normal. Industry and transport was working. Efforts are being strengthened to prevent antisocial interethnic phenomena. More active measures are being taken against instigators of violations of law and order and those who want to disrupt the stability of the situation by spreading provocative rumors. Meanwhile, individual illegal actions have been registered in the city. Five apartments were set on fire.

Aslanov, born in 1959, working at the Construction Directorate No 21 of Baku chief construction directorate; Dzhafarova, born in 1952, a worker of the state farm in the village of (?Birgas); Nadzhafova, born in 1965 and with no fixed abode or profession; Askerov, born in

1977, a pupil at school No 280; and Aliyeva, born in 1968, working at the footwear factory No 1 were all arrested while committing a burglary. The case of Askerov has been referred to the commission for the affairs of minors while the others are being held criminally responsible.

For violating the set regulations last night 306 people and 27 automobiles were detained and 14 people have been imprisoned, including 1 person who used a weapon against a militia man. The situation is being monitored everywhere.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku City Special District

No 'Serious Violations' 6 Dec

NC0812162788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District:

There were no serious violations of public law and order in the city yesterday. The city's production rhythm is being restored. Of the 260 (?oil) industry establishments, 256 were operating at full capacity. The remaining four worked in part. Transportation is allowing daily activity in the city, and work in educational institutions continues according to plan. In the main, the curfew has been obeyed. A total of 202 people and 34 cars were detained, while 8 individuals were imprisoned. One firearm was discovered and 64 individuals were detained under administrative procedure.

[Words indistinct] were attacked during the curfew hours and homemade projectiles were thrown in two areas. No one was killed. An investigation has been launched.

I would like to explain to the city residents that if the lives of the military servicemen who are fulfilling the task of maintaining public law and order are endangered as a result of the attacks that are organized against them, they are allowed to use arms in accordance with the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 28 July 1988.

The Nizami District internal affairs organs are instituting criminal charges against (?Akhretullayev), who was born in 1968 and is a worker at Maintenance and Construction Administration No 5; Mamedov, who was born in 1973 and is a student at the Baku Vocational and Technical School No 11; and Badiya, who was born in 1973 and is employed as a metal worker, on grounds that they engaged in acts of hooliganism, obstructed city transportation, and beat up citizens.

Together with the internal affairs organs, the military units are continuing to take measures to maintain public law and order in the city and to obstruct the breaching of laws.

[Signed] Col Gen Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Dissident Begins Hunger Strike

AU0812173488 Paris AFP in English 1725 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, Dec 8 (AFP)—Soviet dissident Sergey Grigoryants started a hunger strike Wednesday in the Armenian capital Yerevan, where he is serving a 30 day jail sentence, colleagues at the independent GLASNOST magazine said here on Thursday.

Mr. Grigoryants, GLASNOST's editor-in-chief, and another staffer, Andrey Shelkov, were charged on November 28 with violating security measures imposed in Yerevan to quell ethnic strife.

Relatives said the two went to report on violence there and were accused of taking photographs in contravention of a curfew imposed on November 24.

Armenian Party Adopts Resolution

PM0812143588 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "In the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau was held 29 November. It examined the question of the situation in the republic and urgent measures for its normalization.

The resolution which was adopted notes that an extremely dangerous situation, fraught with disastrous consequences, prevails in the republic.

Conflicts and clashes on ethnic grounds have become more frequent in the republic's rayons with a mixed Armenian-Azerbaijani population. Exchanges of fire between Armenians and Azerbaijanis have been recorded in Gugarkskiy, Kalininskiy, Gorisskiy, Sevanskiy, Vardenisskiy, Stepanavanskiy, and a number of other rayons. People have been killed, maimed, and wounded. Groups of people pose threats to the safety of motor vehicle traffic, blocking highways and stoning vehicles.

The situation has been aggravated by the intensive migration of the population from Azerbaijan to Armenia and from Armenia to Azerbaijan. As of 29 November some 19,800 people had arrived in Armenia from Azerbaijan.

The government commission for the counting, distribution, and settlement of people arriving from the Azerbaijan SSR is coordinating and guiding the work of rayon and city commissions for these matters. All possibilities are being explored to house them, and they are being given medical and material assistance.

The Central Committee Bureau resolution notes that, despite the introduction of a curfew, the situation remains tense also in Yerevan. There are instances of curfew violations, breaches of passport regulations, disobedience of orders from the military authorities, and violations of public order.

People are still failing to report for work. In Yerevan on 29 November, 52 industrial enterprises were at a total standstill and 61 were operating only partially. In the republic as a whole, 161 enterprises were at a total standstill and 123 were operating only partially. The shortfall of commodity output deliveries amounts to R12.5 million. The total volume of unperformed construction and installation works amounts to R2.5 million.

Party, soviet, and Komsomol organizations and law enforcement organs are displaying obvious sluggishness and at times even intolerable passiveness in the prevailing situation. Ideological organizations and mass media in the republic are adopting a wait-and-see attitude.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau noted the unsatisfactory work by party gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations, soviets of people's deputies, and law enforcement organs on the normalization of the situation. Instructions were issued to immediately mobilize all forces and means of political influence to prevent a dangerous development of events in the republic fraught with irreversible consequences.

The republic law enforcement organs—the Prosecutor's Office, the MVD, and their local organs—were instructed to step up their work on the maintenance of public order in the republic's cities and rayons and to take effective measures to prevent all negative manifestations and incidents along nationality lines.

The Yerevan party gorkom and gorispolkom were instructed to step up their explanatory work among the population and among soldiers stationed in Yerevan for the maintenance of public order, with a view to ensuring—within the curfew conditions in Yerevan—correct mutual relations, high standards of behavior, and prevention of any misunderstanding or incidents of indiscipline and antisocial behavior.

The bureau noted the need to mobilize all public forces—representatives of the intelligentsia, scientific and cultural figures, and leaders of ideological institutions—and to organize meetings between them and the Armenian and Azerbaijani population of the republic's cities and rayons and to call on people for prudence and calm.

Leaders of the republic propaganda and mass media were instructed to organize press and television statements by cultural figures and leading party, soviet, and economic officials condemning interethnic clashes and calling for an end to strikes at industrial enterprises and resumption of studies in all of the republic's VUZ's and schools.

The bureau made it incumbent on party gorkoms and raykoms to take exhaustive measures to normalize the situation in the republic. They were told to organize around-the-clock work by the party, soviet, economic, and Komsomol aktiv in all population centers, to ensure the total safety of the population, and to prevent interethnic clashes. Attention was especially drawn to the fact that, in the prevailing conditions, it is possible to rely only on the common sense and lofty responsibility of all Communists for the situation in cities and rayons.

This work must be headed by party gorkom and raykom first secretaries.

Armenian Communist Party gorkoms and raykoms and leaders of the republic's ideological services were instructed to organize broad propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee November (1988) Plenum materials, M.S. Gorbachev's report to the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session, and his speeches at the 26 November 1988 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Yerevan 'Calm' Since Curfew

PM0812113188 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 29 Nov 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "At the Armenian SSR MVD"]

[Text] Since the introduction of the curfew, the situation in Yerevan has on the whole remained calm.

At the same time individual citizens are treating the restrictions imposed by the curfew without proper seriousness. Since 25 November 1,592 people have been detained for various violations. Of these 1,538 were warned, 7 were fined, 25 people were arrested by the military commandant's office, and the remaining cases are being examined.

The situation in the republic's rayons, especially those with a mixed Armenian-Azerbaijani population, remains tense. Incidents with grave consequences which have arisen on national soil have been recorded. In a number of rayons of the republic—Kalininskiy, Gorisskiy, Gugarkskiy, and Vardenisskiy Rayons—cases of shooting between people of Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality have been recorded. There have been cases where groups of people of both nationalities have created a threat to the safety of motor transport, placing stones as obstacles and throwing them and in individual instances even using firearms.

The number of crimes in Yerevan city has dropped with the introduction of the curfew.

The aggravation of the situation in the region has given rise to intensive migration of the population from Azerbaijan to Armenia and from Armenia to Azerbaijan. The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Commission is taking steps to settle in the republic citizens of Armenian nationality who have arrived from Azerbaijan.

Yerevan Commandant on Curfew

PM0812134788 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 2 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with Yerevan military commandant Lieutenant General V.N. Samsonov by R. Meliksetyan and V. Sarkisyan: "A Complex Mission, but...; Talk With Yerevan City Military Commandant Lieutenant General V.N. Samsonov"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Interviewers] This is the seventh day the curfew has been in force in Yerevan. The city is living a "truncated" regime that is unusual for it. To this day many people are asking what gave rise to the need for this tough measure in a city where in recent months there have been no mass disorders requiring the Army's intervention.

[Samsonov] It depends on which way you look at it. Yes, not counting the well-known events at the "Zvartnots" airport, there have been no mass law violations on interethnic soil in your city of Yerevan, and there have been no murders, rapes, or looting. However, in recent weeks the situation in the city has been heated to the limit. It is not even a case of strikes. But it is one thing when people do not go to work and quite another when they are deprived of this possibility. Thus there have been instances of sabotage on transport in Yerevan, instances of the blocking of vitally important establishments and highways in the city, and unsanctioned meetings. Matters even reached the point where pressure was being brought to bear on deputies of the republic's supreme soviet. In the past few days I have frequently heard it said that no pressure has been brought to bear on the deputies. However, while in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee building I myself have recently witnessed about 20 young men demanding that a deputy appear on Teatralnaya square. You must agree that this is a rather strange form of inviting the people's chosen representatives to a session.

So the situation was so unpredictable that the need arose to introduce a curfew.

[Interviewers] Viktor Nikolayevich, at what level was the decision to introduce a curfew in Yerevan made?

[Samsonov] I can say at quite a high level. I am a military man and for me, an order is a law. But I want to make one confession. It was least of all with such powers that I wanted to come to Yerevan. A few years ago I served in Armenia, and I had retained the warmest impressions of your republic and your people. At the time I would not have believed for anything that circumstances would oblige me to undertake such a mission. I want to hope that my attitude toward you will not change in the process of its execution.

I have no grounds for being a pessimist, especially as the first days of the curfew have passed in a disciplined manner and there have been no serious violations of public order, incidents, or hostile onslaughts against servicemen. I think people are treating the situation which has been created with understanding and responsibility.

[Interviewers] Nonetheless, to judge by the official reports, since the start of the curfew patrols have detained over 2,000 people at night. What were they guilty of? In asking this question we by no means cast doubt on the competence of the sanctions which have been applied. It is simply that this is the first time the city's inhabitants have found themselves in such a situation, and naturally they are committing some violations of the regime through ignorance of the requirements.

[Samsonov] The overwhelming majority of people were detained for walking through the city without a special permit during the curfew. Owners of automobiles are being detained for three main reasons. These include the violation of the nighttime regime, driving people without permits, and the lack of drivers' documents.

There have been individual cases where weapons—hunting rifles, small axes, and knives—have been found in automobiles. I fully accept that these objects may not have been placed in the vehicles at the present time or purposefully, but I ask all Yerevan people, to avoid unpleasantness, to refrain from carrying them during the curfew.

[Interviewers] A mass of rumors and stories are spreading about the curfew, and the editorial office is receiving alarming telephone calls and people are telling us that the servicemen are sometimes exceeding their powers, are being rude, and are using force. They describe spontaneous conflicts on the streets and unjustified checks and detainments of citizens and beatings.

[Samsonov] We too have heard all this. If you have noticed, many of our visitors are in civilian clothing. Every call is checked immediately and most carefully. I shall not conceal the fact that conflicts between the population and the servicemen have occurred, but without serious consequences or complications. In particular, at a bus stop on Marshal Bagramyan Avenue a patrol saw a large crowd of people, failed to understand the situation, and told them to disperse. Naturally, people were angry and did not answer in the most courteous fashion. Mutual lack of restraint and the absence of proper tact had an effect here.

I should like to assure the Yerevan people that the garrison political workers and senior officers are constantly performing appropriate work in this direction with their subordinates. Yes, it is very important that our patrols be able to differentiate between the situations which arise and to act correctly. But something else must be said. However much trouble the curfew may cause the Yerevan people, however strained their nerves in connection with the overall situation in the region, this gives no grounds for entering into altercations with the servicemen or insulting them. They must understand that the young servicemen are fulfilling their official obligations.

[Interviewers] From what you have said it may be concluded that you assess the situation in Yerevan as favorable. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the situation in a number of cities and rayons of the republic....

[Samsonov] Yes, there are many explosive spots, especially in rayons with a mixed Armenian-Azerbaijani population. Clashes are taking place in Kalininskiy, Gugarkskiy, Stepanavanskiy, and Gorisskiy rayons. As a result of the use of firearms in some cases there are injuries and casualties among both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Spontaneous meetings which are rather of an informative nature are taking place in a number of population centers of the republic.

[Interviewers] Of course, everything which is taking place now is impermissible and unnatural to the Armenian people. After all, it is no accident that in the 9 dramatic months which have passed since the Sumgait tragedy nothing similar has happened in Armenia. Remaining equal to their historical spirit, the people have not lost their sense of dignity, have not succumbed to any acts of provocation. But there is obviously a limit to this titanic patience.

We shall call a spade a spade. What is being done in Azerbaijan against the Armenian population can only be called deportation. The flow of refugees is endless—since the start of the events their number has exceeded 50,000. And every new family of refugees is one more bitter story of a destroyed home and spoiled fates. People are actually being expelled in their dressing gowns and slippers, with one handkerchief in the pocket.

Let us add to this the phenomenon of the curfew in Baku, where even a week after the introduction of the special status the meetings are not ceasing for a minute and the procession through the city with hostile, menacing cries and slogans of "Armenians get out!" begins early in the morning. And the union press is also pouring oil on the fire by its idyllic descriptions of meetings in Baku and of the discipline and hospitality of their organizers.

[Samsonov] Believe me, I fully understand your concern and alarm. I also understand that, in demanding the observance of the curfew in the cities of Azerbaijan, you are guided not by considerations of parity but by enormous anxiety for the fate of your compatriots. Indeed, even now, during the curfew, several thousand people remain on the square in Baku where the meetings are taking place. Unfortunately, the steps taken by my colleague are so far producing no results. According to our information, registration of members of the so-called People's Front of Azerbaijan is continuing in the city.

[Interviewers] One last question, Viktor Nikolayevich. In the present situation it is difficult to make forecasts, but nonetheless how soon can the curfew in Yerevan be repealed?

[Samsonov] However strange it may sound, this depends more on the Yerevan people than on us. I assure you that it will not remain a single day longer than the situation requires. Here is a graphic example for you. Having been convinced of the Yerevan people's discipline, we have decided to introduce some relaxations as of 5 December.

It remains for me to express the hope that the inhabitants of Yerevan will continue to treat our mission with such understanding.

Refugee Situation in Azerbaijan Reported

NC0912122088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Here is a talk by our correspondent Asad Akhmedov:

I would like to begin my talk with information from AZERINFORM, which was published in the press today. Twenty-three thousand families have arrived in Azerbaijan from Armenia thus far. That makes more than 100,000 refugees. A number of these families have switched apartments and received special homes and land. Some of them are lodged with their relatives.

However, more than half of the refugees, that is about 76,000 individuals, have not yet been resettled. The majority of them are in cities and rayons. They are living in sanatoriums, schools, kindergartens, clubs, and kitchens. [passage omitted]

Rivalry Between Estonian Groups Described

PM0612151388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 p 4

[Own correspondent I. Teterin report: "Principles or Ambitions. Notes on the Constituent Conference of Estonian Labor Collectives"]

[Text] Tallinn—Having forced my way through a crowd of pickets, shown my invitation to members of the voluntary people's squads three times, and complied with the rigorous registration procedure, I finally got as far as the entrance lobby of the republic House of Political Education.

In short, there was a sharp smell of sensation in the air. What did it consist of? Frankly speaking, as far as I was concerned, the fact that on the last day of the month, 30 November, when the fate of the production plan is normally decided, leaders of the republic's key enterprises suddenly left their desks and crucial work areas was a sensation in itself. Instead, they gathered for a conference in order to make, jointly with representatives of their labor collectives, their contribution to a pursuit highly uncharacteristic of their professional activity—sociopolitical debate.

More specifically, what was being discussed was the association in a Labor Collective Council of Estonian enterprises which fall under the jurisdiction of different departments. The aim of this step was expressed in terms which could not have been more in line with the spirit of the times—to promote the restructuring of the economy, facilitate the implementation of the ideas of regional economic accountability, outline ways of implementing a number of social programs, protect the interests of labor collectives, and so on and so forth.

Incidentally, it is necessary to add one small detail here—the Labor Collective Council was being set up, apart from all else, also in order to join actively in the political life of the republic. It was this circumstance which led to the formation of pickets and huge crowds in front of the House of Political Education and to passions running high.

To be truthful, the idea of the association of enterprises which come under the jurisdiction of various departments but operate in a specific territory with a view to jointly implementing economic and social policy is by no means new. The Poti experiment is well known throughout the country. Subsequently this experiment was applied in many other parts of the country.

However, the given case should, nonetheless, be viewed as a new cause—why did the republic's key enterprises decide to unite precisely this year? It would be dishonest not to mention here that for some time now everything but curses have been leveled in Estonia from the rostrums of various meetings and conferences and the pages of newspapers and magazines at all-union departments which hold almost 90 percent of the republic economy in a vice-like grip. Some hot-tempered orators have tried to blame all the sins of the period of stagnation on all-union enterprises. People who have come to live here from other parts of the country are suddenly referred to as "migrants." Living and working in the republic has become uncomfortable for them.

For accuracy's sake it is necessary to mention that it was the major Tallinn "Dvigatel" plant which first came up with the idea of bringing together the enterprises which fall under all-union jurisdiction. This was back in May of the current year. In September representatives of eight enterprises, invested with mandates from their labor collectives, signed an agreement on the establishment of a Joint Council of Production Collectives [OSPK] (this is what it was originally called). Suddenly there were unexpectedly many would-be members. In any case, by the end of November more than 100 enterprises had joined the OSPK, representing a work force of at least 100,000 highly skilled workers, engineers, and specialists.

What was the attraction of the idea of this council? First of all, it helped labor collectives to get out of the rut of departmental interests and to take a broader look at life in the republic. Drafting of joint projects began, such as the construction of a swimming pool in the new Lasnamyae neighborhood of Tallinn, implementation of a joint cadre policy, pooling of efforts in the production of consumer goods: Naturally, this kind of activity was advantageous for the republic in every respect because it finally focused production workers' attention directly on unsolved territorial problems. Strictly speaking that was the long-awaited moment when a debt is paid back.

Unfortunately, the initiative to establish the OSPK was by no means applauded. On the contrary, it attracted sharp criticism from certain leaders and activists of the People's Front. Labels such as "a technocrats' plot," "a return to bureaucratic edicts," "antirestructuring bloc," and other uncomplimentary titles were bandied about. What was the reason for this criticism? The People's Front representatives did not conceal their concern—they saw in the OSPK a real force which could play an important role in the republic's political life. If you add to this that the OSPK itself declared publicly that it intended to join in political life, it is not difficult to realize that the situation was politicized from the outset.

The Production Collective Council grew rapidly as its membership expanded. At the same time it conducted its own political campaigns. On the eve of the emergency session of the republic supreme soviet, for instance, which, as is known, adopted a number of documents which are at variance with the USSR Constitution, rallies were held at many of the republic's enterprises on the initiative of the OSPK. Their participants warned the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and its deputies against rash actions presaging the possibility of a constitutional crisis.

In other words, the OSPK assumed the role of an opponent of the People's Front from the very beginning. The fact that the Estonian public is mainly represented in the People's Front and the bulk of the membership of the OSPK is made up of enterprises where Russian-speaking strata are in the majority, inevitably led to the exacerbation of ethnic tensions.

Everyone knows that strategy and tactics are the two foundations on which any policy rests. If we try now to analyze in retrospect the strategic course followed by the People's Front and the OSPK we find that they have much in common. This includes an ardent desire to

accelerate the processes of restructuring of our life, genuine concern for enhancing the republic's prosperity, and similarities in defining economic priorities.

I am saying this to make you understand that the People's Front and the OSPK cannot, and indeed must not, be political opponents. Allies—yes. But opponents, under no circumstances.

Yet they have become opponents. The rather half-hearted attempts to sit down at the negotiating table led to nothing. Reciprocal accusations caused offense. And most importantly—tactics let both of them down.

However, tactics as an important element of policy must invariably go hand-in-hand with ethics. If this link does not exist, the policy itself sooner or later turns into politicking.

Something of this kind has happened in our case. The mutual recriminations of the leaders of the People's Front and the OSPK were not always based on truth or ethical. In an effort to gain supporters, the representatives of the two public movements frequently resorted to such a sly and perfidious device as playing on hurt national feelings. The interests of the working class and the intelligentsia, the cities and the countryside, and even the republic and the union as a whole were pitted against each other.

But I have to clarify something here. Originally the People's Front tactics in respect of the OSPK were reminiscent of elementary political boycott. Critical voices rang out at rallies and meetings. The very idea of the establishment of a Production Collective Council was described as "antirestructuring" and there were calls to end the existence of the OSPK by "undemocratic methods."

Incidentally, this did not harm the popularity of the OSPK in the least; on the contrary, it probably increased it. A paradox of our times, as they say. Dozens of labor collectives joined the council. In the end the question arose of the need to hold a republic constituent conference which would adopt a program of action and the statutes of the joint council. The conference was scheduled for 30 November.

Suddenly a peculiar political about-face took place. About a week before the opening of the constituent conference, when preparations for it were in full swing, the leaders of the People's Front suddenly thought better of it and sharply changed their tactics. They called on labor collectives in which the influence of the People's Front was traditionally strong... to take part in the constituent conference of the OSPK as a matter of principle, with the aim of seizing the initiative and making it possible to adopt decisions at the constituent conference which would increase the influence of the People's Front among the workers.

The People's Front leaders' ingenuity and enterprise in organizational matters is undeniable. Appeals appeared in the press to take part in the work of the "first congress of the so-called OSPK" (I am quoting the newspaper SAKALA of 29 November 1988). As a result, representatives of hundreds of labor collectives summoned to the barricades of political struggle by the People's Front arrived in Tallinn on the eve of the opening of the conference. These were delegates not just from industrial enterprises but also kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and nonproduction sphere enterprises. To give them their due, they all arrived with proper documents certifying that they had been entrusted with representing the interests of their collective.

The very obvious question arose as to what was to be done.

The night before the opening of the constituent conference three long consultations were held where this question was discussed over and over. The consultations were attended by V. Yarovoy, director of the "Dvigatel" plant, and U. Kyaer, director of the "Norma" association. The Tallinn party gorkom acted as mediator in these talks. The organizational committee of the constituent conference was categorically against the participation in its proceedings of the newly arrived delegations. This is understandable: The tactics of the former influenced the tactics of the latter. A compromise was proposed. When the conference had approved the program and the statutes, anyone who wanted to would be able to join the OSPK. However, this proposal was not accepted. The People's Front representatives hinted that if their delegations were not admitted to the conference, they would mount a picket in front of the House of Political Education and prevent delegates of the constituent conference from entering the building. In the end it was decided to hold the constituent conference simultaneously at two venues. Last-minute arrangements were made to put the Tallinn great city hall at the disposal of the delegations which had arrived in the republic capital in response to the People's Front calls.

After that, the event took on a bizarre appearance. It began to look like a tug-of-war. Who would come out on top? The main arguments were no longer the interests of the labor collectives as such. They gave way to elementary arithmetic: In one hall there were 572 delegates representing 120,000 workers of key enterprises; in the other there were 2,722 delegates representing 736 of the republic's labor collectives. In one auditorium the discussion took place in Russian, in the other in Estonian. At the House of Political Education the conference was chaired by V. Aleksandrov, director of the "Volta" plant, in the city hall the presidium was headed by People's Front leaders E. Savisaar and M. Lauristin.

That evening and late into the night (the conference ended long after midnight), I zigzagged between the two Tallinn halls. But that is not the only thing that prevents me from giving a detailed account of the debate in the

two auditoriums. At the same time I must honestly admit that in both halls many wise words were spoken about the need for consolidation and unity, about the fact that the Estonian working class has nothing to fight about. However, all these discussions remained fruitless and the conference ended with a split. It became obvious that this could not be avoided during the vote on the OSPK Statutes. In the House of Political Education 530 votes were cast "in favor" and 16 "against" with 10 abstentions. In the city hall the result was the reverse: There were 2,604 votes against the statutes and only 6 abstentions.

After that the people gathered in the city hall proclaimed the establishment of their organization "Union of Estonian SSR Production Collectives." Without delay, they adopted a resolution in which they state that "the representatives of 376 labor collectives declare that the meeting held in the House of Political Education had no authority to adopt decisions on behalf of Estonian SSR labor collectives."

To tell the truth, what annoyed me personally most of all was that people in both halls behaved as if they had won a victory when the conference ended. Emotions clouded their reason. Yet it was their reason which should have told them that if this is viewed as a tactical victory for the People's Front, for instance, (I will say nothing about the methods by which this victory was won), then it is the Estonian working class which is, quite unquestionably, the loser this time.

So two organizations representing the interests of different labor collectives have emerged in the republic. The first calls itself the Joint Council of Estonian SSR Labor Collectives (the former OSPK), and the second refers to itself as "Union of Estonian SSR Labor Collectives." The dividing line is primarily their national composition. And this, you will agree, is fraught with considerable danger. Incidentally, let's not be pessimistic. There is still a certain amount of hope that the two organizations may merge. After all, neither of them approved a final version of the action program. This is a chance for consolidation in which we very much want to believe.

However, I see another danger. Actions like the one which I have just described are today seriously weakening the prestige and influence of the Communist Party. Communists for whom the interests of this or that public movement become more important than the interests of the party as a whole are involuntarily introducing disharmony into the republic's social life. What Estonia urgently needs now is the consolidation of all social forces. It needs it above all in order to stabilize the progress of restructuring. I cannot think of another force in the republic, apart from the party united in its political will, which could cope with this task.

That is, essentially, the long and short of the story. It only remains to be hoped that there is a second installment. An installment describing how the republic's labor collectives, proceeding from the current split, came to reach agreement.

Lithuanian Party Discusses Sajudis Excesses

PM0712114588 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 27 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau: On Today's Political Situation in the Republic"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has adopted a resolution "On Today's Political Situation in the Republic." It says:

We are living in significant and complex times. Implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the 27th CPSU Congress, and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, we have embarked on the path of restructuring. We are treading more firmly. We are seeking with growing intensity ways to further strengthen socialism, democratize society, expand glasnost, enhance the efficiency of our national economy, and humanize living conditions. We realize that this course pursued by the party is confidently backed by the overwhelming majority of the republic's population.

The 17-18 November 1988 session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted historic resolutions of particular importance for the Lithuanian people. The Lithuanian language was proclaimed the state language of the Lithuanian SSR. The national tricolor flag, which is held in esteem among the people, became the republic's state flag, and V. Kudirka's "National Song" became the state anthem. Taking the population's will into account, a very important resolution on amendments to the USSR Constitution was adopted.

The session also made realistic decisions about the further development of our national economy and the enhancement of the prosperity of the republic's inhabitants.

This session was an important step along the path of restructuring. We are the first in the country to elaborate, with the help of scholars, a draft of a new Lithuanian SSR Constitution which affirms sovereignty and which will in the very near future be submitted by our parliament's Constitutional Commission for discussion by all the people. We are beginning to implement the idea of the republic's economic autonomy [samostoyatelnost]. A concept of regional economic accountability has been developed, and it is basically supported by the USSR Government. Businesslike dialogue with Lithuania's Catholic clergy is expanding. We are taking a fresh look at the past and the grave consequences of the Stalin personality cult and the period of stagnation.

It is hard to overrate the great importance attached to the intensive development of national self-awareness and self-expression. These processes awaken people's love for

their native land, the development of individual originality, and the renewal of society. This rebirth of our people is sincerely welcomed by Lithuania's Communists, and they perceive it as a mighty, positive force of restructuring.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau totally supports and will continue to support the Lithuanian people's historical desire to see their native language undergo normal development and improvement. We are at one with those honest people who are truly concerned about the rebirth of historical awareness, the utilization of the people's cultural and historical heritage, the creation of national schools, and the independent development of the entire Lithuanian culture. At the same time, we are fully determined to create the necessary conditions to enable all peoples living in Lithuania to express and satisfy their national, social, and cultural needs.

The rallying of the creative forces of all peoples living in Lithuania in line with the principles of national equality, friendship, and socialist humanism—this is a necessity dictated by the times. We will consistently implement these principles. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee calls on all people in Lithuania who are truly interested in the successful consolidation of socialism and social justice and in the creation of a democratic Soviet society to be guided by them. We share a common life and destiny. The humaneness, tolerance, sincerity, and benevolence which are historically inherent in the Lithuanian people—this is what occupies us today; this is what is boundlessly needed.

The Lithuanian Communist Party carried the heavy burden of responsibility for the building of socialism and the fate of the Lithuanian people throughout the years of Soviet life. Lithuanian Communists strove to perform this difficult mission as well as possible, even though they did not always succeed. Now, in the period of restructuring, the responsibility borne by Communists is even greater. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau calls on party organizations and Communists to more actively join the restructuring of all spheres of social life, to solve the tasks set by the party with a sense of high responsibility and initiative. It is impossible to have a tolerant attitude toward any discrepancy between words and deeds, toward any unprincipled behavior by Communists, any deviations from the new party line and party discipline.

The "Sajudis" Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, which has done much for our society's renewal in cooperation with party and state organs, has become an active factor of political life in the republic. Over the last few days, however, the upper hand in the activity of some "Sajudis" leaders has been gained by unrealistic political demands and noisy, antistate actions. There have been instances of personal ambition, of campaigns to collect signatures which have not always been honestly conducted. This confuses the public, especially young people. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau is very worried by this situation.

Supreme Soviet deputies were subjected to gross and unethical moral pressure following the latest session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet which did not accept some demands by "Sajudis." It is impossible not to note that some "Sajudis" leaders are unwilling to distance themselves from casual individuals who have latched onto the movement, who make no secret of their pretensions for secession from the Soviet Union and restoration of the bourgeois system in Lithuania, who deny and denigrate everything that has been created by our talented and industrious people during the decades of Soviet power. This has an especially negative effect on young people who have not lived through the complex prewar, wartime, and postwar situation, and nowadays do not always receive objective information about these historical events.

Many genuine supporters of restructuring are justifiably indignant at the nature of "Sajudis" publications. Indeed, how can one justify the ideological positions and political intentions in the works by some authors, their attempts to settle old scores and insult leading party and state officials? This irresponsible behavior, and disinformation of readers makes us doubt the need to continue to show tolerance toward such items.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau emphasizes that such a stance is incompatible with the concern proclaimed by "Sajudis" for Lithuania's future, the creation of a rule-of-law state, and the consolidation of the people for the sake of our future. The republic's sovereignty can be attained not through slogans dictated by maximalism or rash leaps, but through universal determination, accord, and political common sense.

We know that people of goodwill in the republic support the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's supreme soviet and government. They wish to see all active and conscientious forces taking part in the restructuring of society. If the "Sajudis" leaders were to realize and self-critically evaluate this, it would provide a bridge for further fruitful dialogue. The majority of Lithuania's public advocates cohesion and close cooperation between "Sajudis" and the party, state, and government organs. This is the objective pursued by the Lithuanian Communist Party and its Central Committee, this is what the republic's population wishes.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau emphasizes the growing responsibility of the leaders and primary party organizations of mass media collectives as regards the consolidation of the policy of restructuring and the struggle against breaches of Soviet journalistic ethics, against actions running contrary to the goals and interests of the party and society. We

address press, television, and radio workers, historians and other social science specialists, and members of creative unions, and call on them for joint efforts to interpret and objectively assess the historical path of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian SSR. It is necessary to learn from both the mistakes and the positive experience accumulated during the building of socialism.

The main expression of genuine civic-mindedness by every resident of Lithuania, of love for the motherland, of moral purity and firmness takes the form of specific, creative, and productive practical work. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the government are sincerely grateful to the workers and kolkhoz members, representatives of the intelligentsia, and young people who have not succumbed to barren political passions and are conscientiously performing their specific work.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau makes it incumbent on party organizations to immediately solve the problems which have accumulated in the economic and ecological sphere and to show sensitive concern for our people's material, social, cultural, and spiritual needs. We must pool our efforts and continue our persistent work to solve the problems of Soviet Lithuania's economic autonomy and the introduction of republican economic accountability. At the same time, we must be very circumspect and bear in mind that any economic instability or insufficiently consistent striving for exceptionally radical economic solutions could have a negative effect on our national wealth which has been created through hard work, on the prospects for its further accumulation, and on the population's well-being. The needs of the specific individual must never be forgotten.

The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau instructs party gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations, and all Communists to thoroughly study the political situation at local level and to explain to people in depth the Central Committee's stance and the urgent decisions stemming from it. We call on all inhabitants of Soviet Lithuania—workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, pupils and students, veterans and young people, free thinkers and believers—to rally for labor and creative work for the good of our socialist motherland and of each and every one of us, for the sake of every family's and every person's prosperity, for the sake of the future.

Lithuanian Cost Accounting Concept Debated

18200099 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by A. Gasyunene: "Cost Accounting for the Republic: A Report From a Discussion Meeting on Matters Concerning Lithuania's Economic Independence"; first four paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA LITVA introduction]

[Text] As the press has already reported, a discussion meeting on matters pertaining to regional cost accounting was recently held in Vilnius. Members of the editorial board and the aktiv of the USSR Academy of Sciences VOPROSY EKONOMIKI journal met with the leading economists of Lithuania.

They discussed various economic, legal and social aspects of the republic's concept of cost accounting and the draft of a government decree on the Lithuanian SSR's economic independence and the shift to self-financing during a sharp and frank discussion.

The hopes, with which we are entering a qualitatively new stage in economic reforms, were clear. The time of doubts is over. It is necessary to roll up one's sleeves and energetically begin work. How must one work practically in order to count on success under the new management conditions? This became the core of the entire discussion. Such really acute questions as the independence of enterprises, the problems of national and republic property, and the introduction of an independent financial system evoked the greatest controversies. The energy of the new path, as it flowed from the discussion, is undoubtedly strong. It, however, must be strengthened by accurate economic calculations and the weighing of approaches.

The discussion lasted more than five hours and that is why the report, which is submitted for your attention, is given in a condensed version.

The Reform Reveals Interests

In opening the meeting, B. Zaykauskas, Lithuanian SSR Gosplan chairman, said that the republic's cost accounting model, which is being developed in Lithuania, is not an experiment but a first step in the introduction of new management principles. We stand today at the beginning of this path. It is natural that a very wide circle of problems, which exceed the limits of purely economic questions and which are very closely connected with all facets of our life, is arising. The purpose of our meeting at this "round table" is to discuss the concept of and ways to implement the republic's economic independence.

The floor was then given to G. Popov, editor-in-chief of the VOPROSY EKONOMIKI journal. He pointed out that a threefold task faces us—to understand as much as possible the authors of the Lithuanian cost accounting model and those concepts guiding them and to fit this plan to the other republics and regions.

The second question concerns the transition's stages and current solution methods. Much of what we know and have read is close to us. However, there are problems that require deeper analysis. For example, the statement of the question on republic property is understandable. On the other hand, however, a question arises: Under what conditions does the union state lose any economic base, except the defense industry, in this respect? We know from experience that a state mechanism, separate

from economics, is poorly connected with other principles by its administrative actions. The danger in this separation of the union state from the economic mechanism is inferred here.

The activity and enthusiasm of economists and all strata of Lithuanian society in carrying out the reforms have enormous importance because the economic forms, even correctly constructed but not accepted by the people, will not bring success. At the same time, we know that enthusiasm by itself will not always lead to positive things in the economy. It is sufficient to recall the era of war communism—the Thirties.

I am confident that a deeper understanding of each other will be the result of this discussion—and that it evidently will be a basis for further joint work.

E. Vilkas, academician and director of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, paid attention to the concept's base. It is the 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution. The idea itself of regional cost accounting was raised during the preparations for the conference. We will shift to the formation of a new concept of socialism when man becomes the measure of everything, and everything—of socialism itself.

He said that the enormous amount of the individual's interests—economic, social and cultural—is demonstrated in a regional aspect. We include all of this in the concept of the republic's cost accounting.

However, there is an enormous difference between the concept of a region in general and the union republic. We have joined the USSR as a sovereign state. Today, we are not talking simply about economic actions but about insuring the statehood of the republic and its sovereignty.

One can conceive of the realization of republic cost accounting both in a budgetary respect and in the introduction of an equivalent exchange between republics. Then, it will be clear who lives how and whether one lives on what it is earning or not.

He pointed out that an important element is independence in determining economic, social and demographic policy, including foreign relations. Then, it is clear that the republic emerges as a single whole before the union—the success of one benefits all. What are we suggesting? Deductions from the budget of a cost accounting republic are being made for the union budget in order to support all-union functions: defense and foreign policy. This is how Lenin understood our union. The entire spectrum of economic ties is the prerogative of the republic. The republic participates in all-union programs but using shared principles and a promissory basis. The all-union market, which insures efficiency on an all-union scale, must be the economic basis for all this. We have in mind direct ties that are in no way limited by the republic's authority, including that for products which remain under the jurisdiction of state agencies. We are also suggesting that our own currency system be introduced.

We plan to begin the shift to the principles of territorial cost accounting on 1 July 1989. There are the following considerations. On the one hand, it is necessary to begin it as rapidly as possible. However, the middle of the year is convenient—it is possible to compile a new plan for the next year. A year will pass within the framework of the plan which is now being approved. All of this will be a preparatory period. In general, we are suggesting that the shift be completed by 1992. The work facing us is very complicated.

A. Abalkin, academician and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, emphasized in his report that he was expressing his own opinion which was rather debatable on many questions. When speaking about the political and economic bases of regional cost accounting, we understand that they have a specific national and state formation distinctive from other regions. The development of the economic independence of the republics is a natural law of the times dictated by the logic of life, the process of renewing Soviet society, and the need to overcome the deformities of socialism that have been permitted. The variety of the approaches to it and the consideration of historical traditions are a natural law; the process is irreversible and it will gather strength with each year. I think that we can formulate today a proposition about the fact that cost accounting—not only regional but cost accounting in general—is a general form of movement and economic realization of socialist property.

On the whole, I am an active supporter of the expansion of the republic's independence and the development of cost accounting in these relationships. We are talking about how to do this and on what principles it should be built? There is much that is debatable here, in my opinion; there is even much that has not been thought through. When I became acquainted for the first time with the proposals of the Lithuanian specialists and of the Baltic republic's scientists in general, my first reaction was that these are very radical and very bold proposals. I even felt giddy: How evilly they had turned this problem around.

However, I began to change my attitude as I became acquainted with it. It turned out that the proposed plan is quite conservative and not progressive and is based a great deal on yesterday's thinking. I will try to comment on it.

I see several differences between the developed concept and the draft decree. The following interpretation has been heard here: A departmental centralized management system existed previously. We are shifting from the departmental centralized management system to a regional management system. I think that the general

direction of the reform does not lie in this but in the shift to self-planning and to the self-management of the main link—enterprises. True, it is said at the end of the draft decree that enterprises operate independently. There is, however, also the following wording: We are changing union subordination and we are shifting to republic subordination. Why, generally speaking and in principle, is it always necessary to raise the question of whom an enterprise is subordinate to and why should it be subordinated to anyone except the law and, for example, the management council, the labor collective council or the directors' council?

Problems concerning common financial relationships between the republic and the center have arisen. Any plan to concentrate the centralized accounts of an enterprise in the budget is dangerous because it provides an opportunity to redistribute assets primarily from those enterprises that are working well to those that are working poorly. Generally speaking, the system for centralizing all budget resources is more an administrative management system rather than an economic one.

There are a number of other propositions that provide for unnecessary regulation and substitution of the enterprise's independence. I think that the position should be clear and unequivocal not only in its concept but also in the draft decree: an enterprises' complete right to any form of exchange regardless of the enterprises from any region with which it signs a contract.

These judgments lead to the conclusion that the complete cost accounting of an enterprise is not compatible with the complete cost accounting of the ministries. I think that the complete cost accounting of an enterprise and the complete cost accounting of a region are also incompatible with each other. Complete cost accounting can only exist at the level of the main production link which is the socialist commodity producer. Everything else is secondary, derivative and independent of this. It is the same regarding different regional things. There cannot be republic cost accounting without city and rayon cost accounting within it.

I agree with Academician Vilkas that a large part of the individual's interests are connected not only with production activity but also with his living conditions, the territory where his housing is, public services, transport, service area, and trade. It is clear that the entire circle of everyday problems must be solved for an inhabitant of Klaypeda in Klaypeda and not in Vilnius, etc.—and on the basis of complete self-management.

A. Matulyavichyus, general director of the Neringa Production Association for articles for cultural needs, expressed his opinion on expanding the rights of enterprises: New tasks are being posed but the mechanism for solving them remains the old one to a great extent. Previously, the position of the ministries and departments was strong. Two years ago, for example, we went to the republic's Ministry of Local Industry with a proposal to incorporate a second cost accounting model. They did not support us. We are not standing still. The collective has made important gains but these are more in spite of than thanks to the department. The ministry now has our proposal for introducing leasing. The situation is repeating itself; time is passing and there is no decision. Is only our ministry guilty? No, it also does not have sufficient rights for making such decisions. This means that concurrence at the republic and union level must again occur. However, you see, only the collective should solve these problems. Until we guarantee its rights, the reform will slip. I support the thought and the proposal for the complete independence of an enterprise and its labor collective.

Are Equal Starting Positions Required?

Human interests are impossible to measure objectively; there are no such methods—E. Vilkas gave a new turn to the subject under discussion—that is why the mechanism, under which the sovereignty of the people and an opportunity to participate in decisionmaking are realized, is the definitive measure of all interests. The actual guaranteeing of interests without self-management hangs in mid-air. Let us take the republic's property. Considering everything that has been said, it is clear that one must consider the land, minerals and water as republic state property. It is necessary that the producer goods located in the republic also be considered its state property. This is the starting position for simplifying further calculations and for the actual realization of property rights not becoming a legal obstacle.

The question of what to do with power nets and the railroad has already arisen. It is desirable that these branches be transferred to the republic later when experience in coordinating the economy has been accumulated.

L. Yankauska, Bange Production Association general director, supported his opinion when he said that a union ministry is not in a position to fully manage all matters from the center. For example, we had to spend, all told, three months in Moscow in order to get permission to shift the Shyaulyanskiy Television Plant from the production of black and white tube televisions to portable colored ones. Another example—we concluded a contract with Panevzhskiy Ekranas about the delivery of color picture tubes. The ministry refused to accept this contract designating a supplier in Voronezh. Panevzhis is near by, but where is Voronezh? I think that it is necessary to implement the Law on an Enterprise and to give factory personnel absolute rights. But property? Let it belong to the proprietor who works. Does our state really lose something from this?

G. Popov. Your starting position suits us. The economy of many others has taken shape under other more severe conditions.

A. Sergeyev, a department head in the AUCCTU Labor Movement Higher School. An equal starting position for all republics is desirable and that is why the question of redistributing resources between them can arise. It is necessary to solve this question in accordance with an arrangement, as should be done in economics.

Professor K. Antanavichyus, a department chief in the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute developed these thoughts. We have calculated this starting position. Here are our reasons. On the average, labor productivity in Lithuania is eight percent higher, and we firmly occupy fifth place in the country in national income. This means that we have a large national income while working with a large productivity. What is earned is invested not only in Lithuania but also in the other regions mentioned here. For two centuries it has been possible to count and not count who has earned how much, and where it has been invested.

N. Petrakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of TsEMI [Central Economic Mathematics Institute], directed attention toward a question that has political significance. We are talking not only about what has been undertaken in Lithuania alone but also about all republics. The property question does not mean that it is necessary to divide socialist property into 15 parts. It is the economic bases for a nation's right to self-determination, even up to complete separation. Otherwise what would happen if there were no property....

L. Abalkin. However the modern view of the problem consists of multi-subject relationships. There is the understanding that, for example, a labor collective is becoming a property subject under the conditions that society is not ceasing to be the owner. It is not a question of either-or, but a question of the multi-subject nature of relationships.

I am an adherent of the fact that objective logic and, namely, a process of real socialization lie at the basis. This process is different in rail and motor transport. In principle, they cannot be identical. I do not picture any regional property in railroads. Will we move it aside like chalk: It is here; it is there? There is another question concerning the property of public organizations that is making the rounds. What will happen with trade union toasts?

Answer. They are being shifted to the republic's Trade Unions Council.

L. Abalkin. ... The problem of the Crimea and the Black Sea coast also arises... Generally, if one talks about developing all public formations, the informal will become formal in time. This is a serious question which must be resolved and conscientiously stressed so as to demonstrate where its discussion lies.

E. Vilkas. We are not planning to suit everyone immediately; each republic has its own problems....

L. Abalkin. There is another problem. Incidentally, it has also arisen in international and interstate relations. We are talking about the large programs for mining minerals. Current prices are inadequate for all expenses when enormous capital investments with a long pay-back period are required. It is inevitable that all customers should participate at the different levels and not only pay for the end product. How can a cost accounting republic participate in the financing of basic mining branches? This must be provided for by contract relationships. They, however, require the redistribution of national income.

K. Antanavichyus expressed his point of view. "Yes we recognize all-union property. When it has been divided there will appear union, republic, joint, and international property. It is a legal act to know what will be paid to whom and what one should have. Then, if there is a state interest and a state program for us to build something, this means it is necessary to build it adequate to the republic's interests."

B. Rakitskiy, professor and laboratory chief in the USSR Academy of Sciences TsEMI: We are not giving consideration to why these starting conditions are being established. It is one thing to separate and part and to discuss nothing further. It is another matter if it is done so that the republic will manage what is located on its territory. It assumes complete economic responsibility for managing this wealth. In such a case, if its starting conditions are more beneficial, it will assume increased responsibilities in time.

B. Zaykauskas. A correct formula is that the republic will assume responsibility. This responsibility will grow by far. Now, it is still possible to shift it to someone else; later, there will be no opportunity for this. We are taking the risk on ourselves.

B. Rakitskiy. That means you are taking upon yourself the obligation of never again employing methods to shift responsibility?

B. Zaykauskas. That is it....

Rejoinder. ... And not assume someone else's responsibility.

Money in the Economic Coordination System

A. Sergeyev. Are you planning to introduce a republic currency only during the transitional period or for good?

B. Zaykauskas. During the transition.

R. Rayatskas, academician and secretary in the USSR Academy of Sciences Social Science Department: This question is arising because there is still no convertible ruble in the country. We are trying to introduce one in the republic.

A. Sergeyev. In this connection, you should break all economic ties with the union during the transitional period because if you will have money but there is no money in the union at the time, what can the ties be?

S. Uosis, a Vilnius State University professor, took the floor, he said that money was not needed as a means of economic ties under the command management system. It was the administration's handmaiden for accounting. Now, we are moving to the establishment of an economy based on the market. We want to work with the other union republics not under orders but to trade. The market economy will lead us to the establishment of a territorial republic market. That is why the socialist division of labor and the organization of ties on an economic basis also require economic resources. If someone thinks that these relations can be implemented with a collective currency, it seems to me that this is a great economic delusion. This means (I will cite an example from medicine) that if I become sick someone else will take my medicine for me.

A. Sergeyev. In America, each state does not have its own currency....

S. Uosis. This is not the first time I have heard this argument. We, however, are comparing things that cannot be compared. They have states but we have republics—sovereign states. We are talking about a state of sovereign republics. Our federation must be organized on the principles of economic sovereignty.

N. Petrakov. I agree with the part that economic methods cannot be effective without a solid monetary unit. This thesis, however, has not been developed in concept. It is the critical item on which the entire economic situation in the republic will depend. You see, the task consists of having the people endure as few material losses as possible.

B. Zaykauskas. Everything, is not being done immediately, however. We are developing an action program and modeling all the consequences of these propositions.

B. Fedorov, a senior scientific associate in the Institute for World Economics and International Relations, expressed his point of view: "You cannot mention a single country where three-four currencies exist. There are generally accepted constructions and basic points. International experience also convinces one that no one has introduced a convertible currency by voluntary decisions. When one tried (England in 1947), it lasted three months. That is why the process can be dragged out even for us, we suggest, for two decades. Everyone is in favor of hard currency. However, if a currency is established in one republic, it will be another state. The country must have a single credit and financial policy although individual banks can transfer to the republics. I think that it is necessary to normalize financial policy in general. However, will the overall normalization slow down the suggested path?

G. Popov. All points of view do not concur. You say that if there is no common currency there is no state. However, our state is unusual. We cannot operate with these yardsticks. Our state consists of states. We must think about this, considering all its complexities.

K. Antanavichyus. You are suggesting that we wait until the economy is normalized. We are suggesting our own normalization path, including one through our own monetary system—and then to gradually shift from one republic to another, to a third and thus make the currency a normal one.

L. Abalkin. I would like to say that possibly our Lithuanian comrades have not finished speaking. It is possible that I am picturing this correctly. The republic shifts to cost accounting and saturates its market with quality goods. It wants to protect this market; otherwise, they will come in large numbers and buy up everything. The inhabitants will not only have nothing to buy but will have to stand in line.

Rejoinder. That is one of the arguments.

L. Abalkin. There are administrative plans for this defense, for example, cards, sales upon presentation of a passport, etc. It is also possible to use currency for this purpose so that the people will enjoy the fruits of their labor.

B. Rakitskiy said: "I support this aim. It is exactly the path on which the answer not only regarding an independent monetary system but also an independent system of taxes which would insure the total economic defense of the people's interests within the framework of a common national economy, is located. The argument—let us defend everything together—is an abstract one. This is possible when the democratization of economic and political life occurs simultaneously. Today, however, we are seeing unequal political development and an uneven actualization of economic interests in various parts of the country.

N. Petrakov. The presence of another monetary system does not mean that it will be a hard one. It is necessary to make it such, but how?

S. Uosis. We are now engaged in working on these questions. We will change the price and price-formation system. We are calculating the purchasing power and forced savings of the population. However, without a currency system we are not in a position to influence either purchasing power or its stability. If we were the

masters on our own territory, we would be able to regulate these relationships. The republic and the union in general would gain from this.

Waiting for a Miracle? No, Social Guarantees

B. Rakitskiy. Let us try to look at everything that is being said here through the eyes of the worker and peasant. The concept includes the proposition that a labor market will be established in the republic. A person reading this will think: How will this turn out for me? It is said that the republic itself will establish the tariffs and work-day conditions. However, the person does not know what these conditions and tariffs will be. Clauses on the level of advanced world standards: an eight-hour work day, rest, etc., are contained in the Labor Law Code. However, there is nothing in the concept about this. Now, when the introduction of cost accounting has occurred, we see how easily the interests of an enterprise are opposed to the interests of a specific individual. The people are expressing dissatisfaction and often think that the trouble occurs because of the new economic methods.

I suggest that commitments to the people be adopted in the documents concerning the republic's economic life—commitments that the norms in existing labor legislation will not deteriorate during this and that these norms and standards will be implemented. From this viewpoint, considerable work on the concept is necessary and one must guarantee that the individual is insured against a change for the worst.

K. Antanavichyus. Yes, we have gaps here. You have talked about mandatory things which must be considered. Moreover, the people must have a social selection.

E. Vilkas. This is a permanent policy and it will be updated. The questions concern how to do it so that it will be better.

B. Rakitskiy. I would also like to warn against expecting a large miracle and against the illusion that everything will be supplied to everyone rapidly.

K. Atanavichyus replied: "What we are suggesting is to compute the basic per capita level depending on national income. When income grows, the level will be higher. We are also suggesting that taxes be introduced directly into local and city budgets. Now, it turns out that no one wants to build an enterprise for himself. It is necessary for the rayon and city to become richer by locating new production facilities on its territory. Possibly, something will have to be forgone during this and material compensation be received.

Summing Up the Results

L. Abalkin. I think that the benefit from this discussion does not lie in the adoption of a decision. It has been useful that we have listened, looking each other in the eye. It has removed rumors, talk, and conjecture. For all the differences in approaches, a great deal unites us. We support the policy of linking the results of the republic people's labor with those regional social benefits which they can enjoy, i.e., consistently implementing one of the highest principles of socialism—to live in accordance with the results of one's work.

We are discussing the first version of the draft. It is correct that it will be subjected to a general discussion. It is necessary to learn from our Lithuanian comrades the readiness to enter into a frank discussion with the masses and with the people and the readiness to listen to an opinion, feeling a certain incompleteness in the draft. I am thankful for the suggestion for further cooperation.

E. Vilkas. I think that it has been a fruitful discussion. We agree with the criticism addressed to us. The draft, especially its social section, needs work. In principle, however, I think that we have achieved an understanding.

There is a lot of work today and we will improve the study of all proposals. The distinctive feature and novelty of this work are that it will occur during the very process of introducing cost accounting.

G. Popov. The concept of republic cost accounting is evidently an active plan for radical reforms. It is important to rapidly transfer everything to a practical plane. There are a number of comments and suggestions regarding the concept itself. However, the economists of Lithuania have done a great deal of work, generally speaking, and a large step forward has been taken. We have extracted much that is useful from this. We will continue this work with pleasure.

B. Zaykauskas. The traveler will cope with the road. A great deal of work indeed lies ahead. You see, we have submitted the first version for discussion. It will be worked on and added to. This is natural. Life itself suggests the main points in the application of force. It is necessary to expand the independence of cost accounting enterprises in every way possible. When doing this, the measures for expanding economic reforms will undoubtedly be connected in a very close way with the transformations occurring in the political system and with the further democratization of our society's life.

300,000 Join 'International Front' in Latvia

LD0612140688 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] In Latvia, a Soviet republic in the Baltic area, 300,000 factory workers, engineers, and researchers have joined a new public organization, International Front. They intend to cooperate with the Latvian People's Front for the sake of strengthening friendship among all ethnic groups populating the area, to prevent greater ethnic tensions. The leader of Latvia's Communist Party, Janis Vagris, has pointed out in an interview for

the press that it's essential to support all forces working for the benefit of socialism, democracy, and rejuvenation and rebuff any display of extremism. There are plans to convene on 10 December a forum of nationalities populating Latvia, which might play an important role in the endeavors to consolidate the progressive public forces.

Latvia's Gorbunov Discusses Peoples Forum
LD0712112488 Moscow Maritime Service in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Interview with Anatoliy Valeriyanovich Gorbunov, Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, by correspondent Alla Arkadiyeva; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Arkadiyeva] What is the attitude of the Popular Front and the International Front, which is now being set up, toward the [10-11 December] forum of the peoples of Latvia?

[Gorbunov] The idea for such a people's forum originated first in the Popular Front, immediately after the party congress, seeing that the congress had stirred up emotions. One thing seems clear to me, and that is that in this situation no one social organization or social movement is capable of consolidating all forces. For this reason the Popular Front received without any complaints the news that the Supreme Soviet was taking up this initiative and providing it with further specific development. All of the people who reside in Latvia are represented on our organizational committee, independent of any social movements. I, as chairman of the organizational committee, of course feel that although there are these social movements, they in no way influence the organizational committee and in no way underline their presence in the organizational committee. And for this reason, I, as chairman of this organizational committee, am satisfied.

[Arkadiyeva] How long did it take to organize the forum of the Latvian peoples, from the origin of the idea to its implementation?

[Gorbunov] We have been working on the forum for 6 weeks. This is the absolute minimum time in which preparations can be made for such a serious event.

[Arkadiyeva] As the work of the organizational committee proceeds, proposals and, as far as I know, certain observations, are coming in from the inhabitants of the republic. How are these proposals taken into account?

[Gorbunov] We discuss these proposals at sessions of the organizational committee. We already have a tradition that, following a session of the organizational committee, we announce on republican radio in the morning which proposals from which citizens we have taken into account. I think that this sounds quite interesting, at least for our well-wishers. What, in general, are the main proposals? On the subject matter of the reports, on the principle of electing delegates, on the formalities, even concerning the hall, which specific bands should perform during the forum—it is intended that, for example, folklore bands of all of the peoples that live here in Latvia should be represented, and so on.

[Arkadiyeva] And as for the election of delegates, how will they be elected?

[Gorbunov] Delegates are already being elected. For example, in Ventspils Rayon. We have determined a norm for representation, and the people of the rayon themselves elect their delegates. Taking account of the national composition of the city there will be, for example, something like 50-percent Latvians, and then the other nationalities. In Ventspils Rayon it is the other way around, because 80 percent of the residents are Latvians. As for the groups already formed in our republic on the principle of nationality, these are primarily cultural societies. These societies, if they represent, say, a people of Latvia with over 800 people, then they are granted 5 seats, and if less—1 seat. So all the peoples will be represented both by the territorial principle and with due account of the ethnic societies being taken.

[Arkadiyeva] What is the aim of the forum, and what are its main tasks?

[Gorbunov] At this forum we want to try and shape a new model for the life of all of the peoples of Latvia. This is, in my view, the main task that we are setting. We would like every people to perceive itself in this model, and to perceive itself in the long term, so that it should understand that it will be possible both to work and live better in Latvia, in our common home. And, of course, there is also this task: to perceive all of these sore points which we have here. We do not think that the forum will immediately remove all of the sore points that have built up over the course of years in the national problems of various peoples. But, I think that the aim of the forum also lies in removing this soreness, and in thinking about these sore points. Well, that is how we understand it, anyway.

[Arkadiyeva] How will the work of the forum proceed? Will it be covered on television and on the radio, as was the work of the Popular Front?

[Gorbunov] We intend for it to be possible to hear it on the radio and see it on television.

[Arkadiyeva] Is the forum a one-time event, or will it be developed in the future in some way?

[Gorbunov] I would not want to try and determine at this stage how it will be in the future. That will be decided by the forum itself. But we, the members of the organizational committee, have the feeling that we will not complete this work just by this forum. And moreover, we have already even issued instructions for the elaboration of, perhaps, a model for a committee, or a

council—I do not know what we will call it—attached to the republican Supreme Soviet. This committee would really be a voluntary one, really not dependent on anyone. It could meet and examine how the decisions of this forum are being implemented, and pool the proposals that they feel exist in their circles. I think that this will be just wonderful.

[Arkadiyeva] The forum wil be held, and documents will be published. But quite a lot of new documents have appeared here recently, both from the government and from public formations, and individual formulas change from one document to another. That is, quite a lot of words. What are the concrete actions, and what should they be, especially at the present time?

[Gorbunov] You are right. I think it is not a bad thing that many formulas change from one document to another, because one feels that we have common thoughts and a common conception of the problems. Even the new International Front says that 80 percent of their program coincides with the policy statements of the Popular Front. Well, of course, those who engage in politics would say that this is wonderful—there are not many social movements in political life in which there is such a unity of opinion on the fundamental issues and concepts of modern times, the tasks of modern times.

But your question is more precise and, I think, a very correct question. What is the main thing in all of this that people expect of us? And for this reason we have to think about one thing. At the present time destructive slogans are very easily understood. For instance: no to this or that; or: total support for this or that. This is also public opinion, and it must be taken into account. But nevertheless, if a constructive program does not follow immediately, as well as the implementation of this constructive program, then these slogans are not worth a fig; they are like froth, which disappears, but while the main current and water remain. We now have to address matters relating to the independence of our republic, and address them very specifically and directly. And not in order to separate ourselves, or even... [changes thought] Some people have such a provocative slogan: secede, or expel someone—there are such provocative slogans here, it's true; not many of them, but there are some. No, in order to learn to run the economy, everyone wants to manage the economy at the present time, and to see the results of their labor. That is the way it is in the republic. We, the government of the republic, are responsible for our citizens, so that they might be disposed to work, so that they might live better, and so that in a year's time they should not ask us what have we done. And was it not the 19th party conference, on decentralization, that said quite rightly that at the base of everything is the territory and the person who works and lives on the territory, and not sham state interests behind which the interests of the departments are advanced?

The government of the republic is responsible to its citizens. The citizens of republics should be responsible to their republics. The first concrete steps, in the first place, will depend on the resolutions that are adopted. However, I think that state bodies will not only have to think and speak, but also put into concrete effect the principles of cultural autonomy. I have in mind here the fact that state establishments have to concern themselves with developing the culture of all of the peoples living in Latvia. This means that additional personnel engaged in, for example, folklore bands and choirs, are needed in, say, houses of culture. And next: on matters relating to education. For example, a Belorussian, say, wishes to study the Belorussian language as an optional subject at school. This again means money. Such optional facilities have to be set up, staff have to be trained for them, and so on. Next: Perhaps the forum of peoples will declare in concrete form its attitude to the further development of languages as such.

The Supreme Soviet has declared that Latvian has been granted the status of the state language. But this is as yet a general formulation of the question. At the outset I said that it has to be given concrete development, especially in this field—how in this situation the rights of, say, the Russian language and of all of those who speak Russian, will be guaranteed in reality. Well, I repeat, we will have to be guided by the resolutions that the forum itself adopts.

Georgian Central Committee Plenum Held 8 Dec

NC0912105488 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 0537 GMT 9 Dec 88

[From the review of ZARYA VOSTOKA]

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party was held on 8 December to examine organizational issues.

In view of his retirement, the plenum released Comrade Inauri from his duties as member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party; it also expressed heartfelt gratitude and recognition to him for his great personal contribution to the activities of the Georgian party organization.

In view of his transfer to other work, the plenum released Comrade Lordkipanidze from his duties as candidate member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party.

The plenum elected Comrade Makharashvili, first secretary of the Tbilisi Gorkom, as member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party.

Georgian Plenum Discusses Party Structure

PM0612152588 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Nov 88 p 1

[GRUZINFORM "Information Report on Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 12th Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 22 November. The first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms, chairmen of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, ministers, and leaders of

republican departments not belonging to the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee or Auditing Commission were invited to it.

The plenum examined the question of reorganizing the structure of the apparatus of the republic's party committees and the ensuing tasks of improving party leadership.

D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered information on this question.

The new structure of the apparatus of the republic's party committees was elaborated, with consideration for the constructive proposals which have come in from local areas. The number of Central Committee responsible workers is being reduced by 30 percent, and there will be 8 departments here instead of 17. It has been deemed expedient to form five Georgian Communist Party Central Committee commissions—a commission for questions of organizational-party and cadres work, an ideological commission, and commissions for questions of socioeconomic development, the agro-industrial complex, and the implementation of legal policy.

The proposed changes, the plenum noted, are an important practical step in the matter of restructuring the activity of the party organizations, require from every party worker a serious review of the style and methods of his work, and encourage interest, a creative approach, and a high degree of responsibility for the matter at hand.

The plenum heard information from P.G. Gilashvili, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on questions of the work of the forthcoming ninth session of the republic's supreme soviet of the 11th convocation. Resolutions were adopted which basically approve the drafts of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Georgian SSR and the republic's State Budget for 1989.

The plenum was addressed by B.V. Adleyba, first secretary of the Abkha Georgian Communist Party Obkom; G.Kh. Emiridze, first secretary of the Adzhar Georgian Communist Party Obkom; A.G. Chekhoyev, first secretary of the South Osetian Georgian Communist Party Obkom; R.A. Goglidze, second secretary of the Tbilisi Georgian Communist Party Gorkom; and G.S. Abzianidze, first secretary of the Tskhaltubo Georgian Communist Party Gorkom.

The plenum adopted a corresponding resolution.

The plenum heard information about the results of the study of the questions put at the previous, 11th Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and gave explanations on them.

The plenum examined questions of the ideological situation in the republic and the tasks of the Georgian party organization in improving food supplies for the population in light of the instructions of the all-union conference in Orel. D.I. Patiashvili delivered information on these questions.

A corresponding resolution was adopted.

The plenum examined organizational questions.

In connection with his appointment as Georgian SSR minister of motor transport and roads, A.N. Glurdzhidze was relieved of his duties as secretary and bureau member of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

The following Georgian Communist Party Central Committee department chiefs were approved: P.P. Chkheidze for the organizational and party and cadres work department, V.G. Lordkipanidze for the ideological department, B.S. Dzhikiya for the agrarian department, E.E. Kalba for the socioeconomic department, V.G. Bakradze for the state and law department, A.S. Mikhaylov for the defense industry department, K.K. Abuladze for the general department, and G.S. Bakuradze as administrator of affairs.

The plenum approved the following as republican newspaper editors: N.G. Cherkezishvili for KOMMUNIST, A.Sh. Ioseliani for ZARYA VOSTOKA, and V.G. Gogolashvili for SOPLIS TSKHOVREBA.

The plenum approved the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau decision on expelling from the CPSU I.I. Molashvili, first secretary of the Kvarelskiy party raykom, for the disorganization of work, for allowing actions which compromise the party leader and which have entailed gross violations of state discipline, and for the widespread dissemination of instances of exaggerations and machinations in the rayon's economy.

With that the 12th Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum ended its work.

Kazakh Party's Kolbin on Social Movements

PM0712150888 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 10

[Interview with G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, by own correspondent Aleksandr Samoylenko under the rubric "The People and Power": "Let's Start Talking Business..."; date, place not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Social movements have become a fact of life. But are they all equivalent to one another today? Is it not the case that some really aid democratization, while others only teach people to demonstrate or are entirely in the hands of extremists, acting as a brake on restructuring?

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, answers questions put by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's own correspondent Aleksandr Samoylenko.

[Samoylenko] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, how do you assess the democratization process in Kazakhstan since April 1985, and in particular since the 19th party conference?

[Kolbin] One of the theses of my speech at the party conference was this: All valuable social initiatives, everything noble and sincere that is currently springing up among the masses, should be channeled in a direction favorable to restructuring.

Yes, we now have something to build on—democratization has changed the atmosphere in the country and brought the people closer to the management of society, to power. The torrent of social movements and initiatives has swept through Kazakhstan too. Yet to be frank, I thought these processes were still a long way off for us because the weight of stagnation, of bureaucratic organization, was so obvious. Also, the rust of negative phenomena had spread thoroughly, warping people's minds and their faith in the possibility of change for the better.

[Samoylenko] You were not the only one who thought so. Many of us natives of Kazakhstan also thought that an active social life was still a long way off, that the screws were in tightly and the apathy would continue.

[Kolbin] You see! Yet social initiatives developed rapidly. Moreover, it must be admitted that many leaders found it rather frightening at first—the people suddenly started speaking out, rallies began to be held, leaders who were "not our people" emerged.... The ecological movement became particularly powerful in the republic. And that is only natural. Voluntarism and command methods in economic management had done much damage in Kazakhstan. But today we see the social ecologists as useful helpers. With their help the resolution of problems is increasingly taking its proper form and an atmosphere of intolerance toward shortcomings that we thought we were used to has developed.

[Samoylenko] Excuse me, I was struck by your last sentence. Do you mean that a social movement is an accurate indicator of acute social problems?

[Kolbin] Quite true. Yesterday the objectives and thrust of the apparatus' work were defined in the quiet of the offices, and not infrequently they were misdirected. Today, thanks to social initiative, such mistakes are virtually ruled out. Take, for instance, the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production.... What was it doing in Dzhambul and Chimkent all those years? Mercilessly exploiting the capacities of the chemical plants sited there and setting up new ones without taking any notice of the extremely grave ecological situation. It was the ecological front that put a stop to this ministry's diktat. On its initiative, Minister Olshanskiy met with 1,000-strong groups of citizens in Dzhambul and Chimkent, and at last a decision was made: to stop the development of new capacities, and to channel all the money into improving the ecological situation.

[Samoylenko] I would like to clarify that: Did the people make the minister face them, or did Comrade Olshanskiy himself seek a dialogue with the people?

[Kolbin] I would put it like this: Today it is impossible not to reckon with public opinion, and the minister could not help but react to people's interest in a problem that is so acute for them. But I would also like to stress that in both cities the rallies were organized by the party obkoms....

[Samoylenko] The party obkom organized a public rally?!

[Kolbin] Exactly. Moreover, in Chimkent the oblast party leadership asked the Green front leaders to set up a social committee, with cells at enterprises. As a result a well-organized social force grew up.

I will make no secret of my deep satisfaction with the Youth Housing Complex movement, especially in Alma-Ata. In March of this year I visited the lads at a construction site—bare ground. On 6 November I went back—there are houses there now, some of them are already being lived in, others are almost ready for their housewarmings.... The "Housing-91" program is in the course of implementation everywhere, but one serious obstacle has been the cement shortage. All at once I found out that the young people do not have this problem, they go and earn cement in Kirghizia—they don't just stretch their hands out, like some of our leaders. And in Taldy-Kurgan initiative groups have reequipped a great many cellars, organizing them as sports rooms....

[Samoylenko] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, there are those who oppose this view of the role of social initiative—and these opponents are primarily among the "informal" groups. They say: You are deliberately pushing us into building and cleaning up cellars, so that we do not become involved in politics.

[Kolbin] What does that mean? In their opinion, building houses, growing grain, restoring dead villages to life, showing kindness to orphans and the sick—that's not politics. Whereas drawing-room conversations about democracy and freedom of speech—that's politics?! My reply is simple and sharp: We have plenty of talkers as it is! There are those apparatchiks who sing the praises of restructuring, there are those members of "informal" groups who speak out zealously for the people. You know, they have one feature in common—both kinds are

usually no more than imitators. Both kinds show off in front of the people, while doing exactly the same thing—putting restructuring through the grinder and discrediting it.

In this respect I think the events in Ust-Kamenogorsk are typical. Here the leaders of the ecological movement asked permission for a rally. Permission was granted, but not without fear: "What might happen." To be frank, I had my fears too, I called the party obkom—you keep an eye on them! It was decided to hold the rally and conclude it by planting 200 trees. Everyone assembled—the "Greens," and the city's party and economic aktiv. They spoke loudly, ardently, polemically. Yet nobody stayed behind for the tree planting, neither the city leaders nor the initiators. Of course, there were some conscientious people who planted the trees. But is not this evidence of the desire merely for demonstration democracy, when people shout "Long live this!" and "Give us that!", but no one will pick up a shovel?

The process of democratization of life in the republic is highly complex and contradictory, and it is important that we party people learn democracy together with everyone else in practice, that we know how to listen to each other and meet each other halfway. Democracy is a great asset, but if it is used incorrectly you can go a long way off course, away from democracy. When party and soviet organs lose control of the situation, apolitical forces take the upper hand, and under pressure from them it is even possible for decisions to be adopted that are incompatible with Soviet laws. An example of this is the situation that has emerged in Estonia. The recent USSR Supreme Soviet session gave what is, I believe, an accurate legal and political assessment of that.

[Samoylenko] Social movements are a fact of life for us today. But another fact is the desire of many apparatchiks to divide social organizations without fail into formal and informal ones. How far is this justified? And who should establish their status? Does such strict regulation not rob us of the democratic perspective?

[Kolbin] Classifying groups into formal and informal as an end in itself is bureaucracy in its purest form. Restructuring has united all society's healthy forces, many millions of citizens. So why should we divide these forces on either side of the word "formal"?! If there are "informals," does that mean there are "formals" too?! The social movement is becoming a constructive political force in the country, and here it is necessary to be extremely precise in your definitions, in your words. And many party and Komsomol committees do nothing else but classify the initiative groups arbitrarily, on their own responsibility: These are on our side, those are not, so they are "informals." It is meaningless to talk about the democratic perspective here; given this bureaucratic attitude toward social initiatives, democracy as such simply does not exist. But the popular thesis that we are supposedly trying to limit the independence, the self-management of the "informal" groups deserves more detailed discussion. In other words, the question arises: What is meant today by party leadership of social initiative, and what is understood by this in the conditions of democracy?

I have already noted that life itself is making us learn democracy. And in these conditions, in my view, party work is nothing other than political leadership of social initiatives. But all political leadership begins with a political assessment of the situation. Indeed, all subsequent steps depend precisely on the accuracy of that assessment. In this context I would like to reflect on a topic that is very popular in certain social circles at present—on the state status of the indigenous language, which is insisted on by, in particular, the Kazakh writers M. Shakhanov and S. Shaymerdenov, as well as other representatives of the national intelligentsia. In conversations with them I have grasped the main reason for their commitment to this idea. It lies in people's noble desire to create firm legal guarantees for their native language with the help of the law. This view is, I believe, understandable. In preparation for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the nationalities question, we are setting up a Center for the Propaganda of Leninist Nationalities Policy in the republic. Prominent scientists, personalities in literature and art, people's deputies, and representatives of social movements and party and soviet organizations will work on it. Their task is to coordinate our efforts in the sphere of ethnic relations and study public opinion and national interests and aspirations, including those in the field of language. A special commission on language problems will study all viewpoints and proposals scrupulously, in the light of the existing realities.

However, in reflecting on this topic you inevitably come up against Lenin's understanding of the problem. It was not for nothing that Lenin believed that in our country no language should enjoy the status of state language, because in that case the priority of one language over another, and therefore inequality, is inevitable.

Bilingualism—that is the truly international, democratic path. It is, of course, necessary to promote the strengthening and development of the national language, but also to create the conditions for anyone wishing to do so to learn any language—Kazakh, Russian.... Making any one language the state language is only self-deception; a language cannot grow stronger simply because a law has been adopted, any more than the absence of a law prevents us from showing concern for the preservation and development of a language. How this is done is another matter. We began to establish bilingualism in the republic 2 years ago. But it is not becoming established in the way we would like, although the necessary number of Kazakh schools and kindergartens have been opened and literature is published.... So is it not rather naive to think that things will change as soon as we name Kazakh the state language? The reason lies elsewhere, in our formal attitude toward the study of the language. It is

the same as for foreign languages at school: There are timetables, programs, examinations, yet the vast majority of graduates lack knowledge.

I often have heart-to-heart talks with well-known representatives of the Kazakh people about the state status of the language, and many of them say: Establishing Kazakh as the state language will not do our people any good.

[Samoylenko] As I remember, in the first months of your work in Kazakhstan no one mentioned the state language. Another question was raised, and quite rightly: that of opening national schools and kindergartens and publishing textbooks in the native language. This was done without delay. The problem appeared to have been resolved, when all of a sudden...

[Kolbin] That is why we need a prompt, accurate political assessment of any social initiative. And we should not be afraid of offending someone. Indulging politically immature sentiments inevitably means coming up against a deterioration in ethnic relations. It has long since been observed that where proposals are put forward that are outwardly impressive and designed for cheap popularity, extremists and other dubious individuals immediately appear and begin fanning the flames. We must be objective, these champions of their own people who speculate on democracy exist not only among the "informals." There can be no "preferential treatment" for a writer who starts talking about the expediency of residence permits for people of nonindigenous nationality in Alma-Ata, nor for a "People's Front" activist who spreads a rumor that 10,000 Russian construction workers from the Main Administration for Construction of the Baykal-Amur Railroad are to be shipped into the capital of Kazakhstan to build the metro and will be given all the apartments.

I repeat: We must not be afraid of reacting openly to negative trends, otherwise we could find ourselves, as has happened more than once before, in the shadow of an alien initiative and an alien ideology.

[Samoylenko] If you are referring to the Alma-Ata events, an objective political assessment of them was given in the well-known party documents. But I have the impression that today these assessments are being manipulated, so to speak, in the context of a new version of the story: The Alma-Ata events, some people believe, were the first manifestation of an informal movement after April 1985, that is to say, a consequence of the development of democracy.... So why did this "social movement" take such an ugly, aggressive form?

[Kolbin] Yes, that version of events is in circulation. Indeed, people say that the aggressive behavior—the burned-out cars, the broken store windows—were only the result of an inability to express one's position by democratic means. But these arguments, the nature of which is obvious, cannot distort the truth. The truth is that forces of opposition to restructuring ran amok in the square—and democracy had nothing to do with it.

Let me share some observations of those days.... Especially on the first day of the events, the most provocative reports came in from certain officials. First young Kazakhs had seized a Russian kindergarten, then they had occupied a music school.... In every case it proved to be disinformation. That is to say, passions were being deliberately inflamed with a view to frightening and intimidating us so that certain people could retain their former influence. Today we are burning cars, they were saying, and tomorrow—wait and see!... That was a blatant attempt to issue an ultimatum through the lips of the crowd, and where is the democracy in that? Hidden among the crowd were people from the immediate entourage of the former leadership. They were giving orders from positions prepared beforehand—who was to shout, who was to jeer, who was to set fire to cars.

[Samoylenko] You said "the immediate entourage." But you will agree that any entourage knows very well whom it is centered on, and why. And when a request was put to Kunayev to help to pacify the crowd, he refused categorically....

[Kolbin] Yes, we spoke of that refusal to take part in imposing order at a Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

[Samoylenko] It is understandable that major failures in socioeconomic policy and ideological work in the republic culminated in this ugly event. The interests of the "entourage" are clear, but I find it hard to understand what acted as the "detonator" for the crowd. Harsh social conditions? The de-ideologization of the ideological and moral norms of life? Social initiative that went unclaimed for too long?... If we are talking about the causes and motives behind today's social movements, which principles, in your view, prevail: political, economic, ethnic?

[Kolbin] Should we even try to differentiate? There were harsh social conditions, there was a loss of faith in justice.... In a word, everything that years of favoritism, corruption, and abuse of power brought. But I want to stress particularly that those events are a stage we have gone through, we have learned the lessons of those bitter experiences. The party apparatus and all the republic's working people are working to clear away the grave legacy of the times of stagnation. I think everyone in Kazakhstan can see that.

As for the political, economic, or ethnic principles behind today's social movements, here too I would not separate them so rigorously. Surely economic, ethnic, and even personal motives are political motives too? And conversely, there is no such thing as a distilled political motive that has no connection with socioeconomic circumstances. I would look at it differently: What

principle, useful or harmful to society, moves a person or a group of people? I would judge not by words, but by deeds. Now that the most urgent problems have begun to get moving, and thanks to the party's and the people's efforts, positive trends are gradually developing in all spheres of sociopolitical life; a great many "leaders" have emerged, alas, who, instead of playing a practical part in restructuring, do nothing but talk, talk, talk....

The objective reality is that these various "leaders" have plenty of pretexts for making a fuss about the future of the people and democracy. About 15 young people, declaring themselves to be the "People's Front" in Alma-Ata, even expressed concern about the future of the CPSU. But their ostentatious verbal concern for the party, the people, and democracy is only a verbal expression of pity and compassion for the people. And there is a clear desire for an "objective assessment." Of whom? The party apparatus? But the old apparatus has virtually ceased to exist. So whom are they talking about? An interesting situation is taking shape: Some people engage in debates, while others build houses, develop the countryside, show pity to orphans and the sick....

[Samoylenko] You have doubtless heard it said, Gennadiy Vasilyevich—people often speak about it now, especially in "informal circles"—that a stubborn desire to suppress social initiative and take it under control persists, and is working greatly to the discredit of party members....

[Kolbin] Yes, such instances exist, certain apparatchiks are greatly annoyed by "other people's" initiative and seek to tie it up with red tape as far as their influence extends, so that they can go on living quietly, with no trouble. These instances were discussed recently at a Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session, and our sympathies are entirely on the side of the social movements.

But let me say something else. Who takes on the role of informal leaders is by no means a matter of indifference to us. At a recent meeting of Green front activists with the Alma-Ata leaders a certain Yestekov, one of those who inspired the Alma-Ata "People's Front," "surfaced." What was his message to the meeting? This: "You cannot trust the bolsheviks. We must set up a democratic union, join with the Crimean Tatar national movement...." Do the "informals" know that Yestekov has been convicted twice: once for the manufacture, storage, and sale of drugs, and once for forging documents?... Certain "leaders" are beginning to form nationalist groups. In Dzhambul, Daukenov, a serviceman and CPSU member, drew up the program of the "Atameken" ("Fatherland") society and sent it to a number of people calling on them to take part in a congress to set up this organization. The aim: the unification of Kazakhs and their isolation from the other peoples of the USSR, first and foremost in the sphere of language and culture. We have taken and will take such people "under control." They are not traveling our way—or, I think, the way of any honest person.

...I often visit the remote areas of Kazakhstan, where people's living standard is depressingly low. It grieves me to see the apathy, indifference to themselves, to life, the poverty in families that sometimes have 10 or 12 children.... The leaders who considered themselves the "fathers of the nation" did nothing at all to help their compatriots, did not use for their proper purpose the material resources and money that were allocated for social provision for the villages. When the time came to give an account of themselves, these "fathers" declared that they had not been too zealous to improve their people's life, because they were afraid of being accused of nationalism! It is hard to imagine a more opportunist position. Was it really for that reason alone, for instance, that former Chimkent party obkom First Secretary Askarov gave the order to build in the oblast center (instead of hospitals and schools in the remote villages) a... zoo? The real reasons, of course, lie elsewhere. After all, it is easier and more prestigious to build one palace in the city than a dozen hospitals in the villages.

[Samoylenko] It has become obvious that in the conditions of the "spring flood of democracy" the majority of party workers have not mastered the art of open discussion, especially before a mass audience, that they are simply afraid of this kind of contact. By all appearances, they lack political erudition, their personal life and civic stance robs them of arguments in the trenchant polemics on social justice and ideological concepts....

[Kolbin] It is not only political erudition that they lack. In fact, I would put it like this: Political erudition is a certain kind of culture, the ability to think, to conduct a conversation tactfully.... In short, they lack intelligence—that is what I would like to say to those who, because they lack it, believe that the level of political erudition depends only on reading political literature. However, to be frank, a considerable proportion of party workers do not read that literature either.... I remember one situation that was funny at first glance. When I began work in Kazakhstan, I often went to the theaters; I wanted to become acquainted with the national milieu as quickly and thoroughly as possible. I immediately noticed a strange fact. I go into the theater with my wife, and all the members of the former Central Committee Bureau are already there. And their wives! And that happened again and again.... You want to go on your own, to think about things, but no, the "retinue" is there already.

[Samoylenko] But how did they know about your cultural odyssey?

[Kolbin] Believe me, I've no idea! Of course, I was not deliberately hiding, but I did not invite them either. What's all this, I wondered? Are the leaders here such inveterate theater-goers? No. It turned out that it was the

custom—to go to the theater not for love of the dramatic art, but to follow the first secretary. Rather like turning out on parade. Somehow it ceased to be funny.... The standard of the plays and their stage presentation was directly in accordance with the mass alienation from the theater that people felt. Things had descended to a rather sad farce: Tickets were issued on a compulsory basis at enterprises and institutions, but all the same people did not go to the theater, and the company played to an empty hall and... excellent box-office takings. But even this example, which I found staggering, did not cause any of the leaders to feel any concern for the state of national culture in general and the theater and drama in particular. And finally the logical consequence ensued—the failure of tours by the Kazakh drama theater in Moscow, critical articles in PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA KULTURA....

The question arises: Has the development of the nation's culture ceased to be regarded as a political matter? Many party workers—regardless of nationality, let me stress—did not go to the theater. I am afraid to say they did not read the newspapers. But this is what I observed. I have a long-standing habit of looking at the newspapers in the morning, from 0600 until the start of the working day. We read them one after another as a family, and we read the most interesting things together. I arrive at the Central Committee and I ask a comrade: "Have you read IZVESTIYA?" "No. What does it say?" Fine, I think, it's still early in the day. The next day I ask at lunchtime or in the evening: "Have you read IZVESTIYA?" And again: "No. What does it say?"... My observations on the reading of artistic literature are equally sad. People have not even read the works of authors who are put forward for prizes or for high government awards, I have seen that for myself many times. What did they expect? They expected me to call Moscow and ask for an award. But the idea that I could pick up a novel or a poem and read it never even entered their heads....

And these are the party workers who set about political work not armed with fresh ideas or the latest news... Of course, they can talk (talk—not polemicize!) without notes, they can expound ideas quite fluently. But not their own ideas, and without political analysis. The inability to interpret situations and processes, to predict their political significance—that is our main problem.

Speaking in Orel, I cited this example: In the first 3 years of the 5-year plan we built 21 percent more housing in the countryside than planned. And the rural populaiton increased by 35,000. Good? By the old yardsticks—very good, and yesterday these figures would have been enough to justify a report on the revolutionary renewal of the countryside. But after thinking about it and putting the "successes" in context, I discovered that they represent no more than an attenuated shortcoming, because the exodus of people from rural localities continues and the urban population numbers are still growing, only at a slower pace. Therefore the trend we are combating persists.

Today you cannot impress anyone by talking about how much has been done. An "informal" leader is often better prepared than a party worker, he can compare republics, countries, systems. And he always has the crowning argument in reserve: He can take the hapless party member by the arm and lead him into a food store.... Yesterday a great many leaders used the words "labor resources" and "masses" without thinking about it. And all at once these "resources," to the great confusion of leaders accustomed to bureaucracy, started talking, revealing themselves as a collection of personalities, of individuals.

There is another fact that worries me greatly. So many people are still totally unable to learn lessons from their mistakes and apparently still expect the system to withstand everything, to swallow everything. I am talking about the command-and-administer system, in which, as a rule, it was difficult and often impossible to determine personal responsibility for a particular failure. Now the system is being opened up consistently, it has been well and truly dismantled, and there is a new light in which we can see increasingly clearly who is who.

[Samoylenko] Forgive me for interrupting, but you cannot get far with people like that...

[Kolbin] I agree absolutely. People who do not know much and cannot do much must be driven out of the party apparatus, and that is in fact what we are doing now.

[Samoylenko] And where will you find replacements? Why is the party apparatus still so reluctant to accept people who do not come from the nomenklatura?

[Kolbin] You have asked a question that I find very interesting. And tricky... Yes, it is true that as yet not many people can make up their minds to admit to the party apparatus people who are not from the nomenklatura. As yet... But the posts of departmental consultants have now been created at the Central Committee—for experts in the economy, culture, art.... That is where we should take people from the scientific, technical, and creative intelligentsia! But we have to struggle against certain Central Committee apparatus workers, who wave their hands: "Come off it! How can they understand our business?"

[Samoylenko] But perhaps it is a good thing that they do not understand "our business"? They will work unconventionally, in an original way.

[Kolbin] That is the idea. You have been living and working here longer than I, and you do not need me to tell you what used to happen with cadres here, how an elite team of "irreplaceables" was formed over the years. A huge globe used to stand here, in this office; it apparently symbolized leadership on a worldwide scale. The most devoted associates of the office boss used to like to have their photograph taken next to it, with their

hand on the North Pole. We took the globe away, but we left on the wall a map that is totally useless, but we don't know what to do with it because it is worth 8,000 and is hanging in the balance. Orders on whom to remove and whom to promote also used to issue from this office....

[Samoylenko] Visiting various regions of the republic, I see that the state of affairs is not changing, or is changing extremely slowly. Yet the leaders there are very popular; people talk about our man, our secretary....

[Kolbin] I understand... We in Kazakhstan do, of course, have leaders who seek to gain distinction through their actions and thus win the people's recognition. But there are others too... Incapable of action, they have started playing the part of "populists" ["narodniki"], going to the baths with their birch twigs.

[Samoylenko] A report was published in KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA saying that the new first secretary of Balkhash party gorkom has moved into an ordinary apartment and handed over his predecessor's detached house to a worker's family....

[Kolbin] And one of the central newspapers reported ecstatically that a party obkom first secretary goes to work by bus. Well, let him. And if you move into an ordinary home—live modestly, and get on with your work. Why make this out to be a "feat," and turn it into a demonstration of modesty?! Incidentally, sometimes things become downright bizarre. One leadership comrade gave the order to disconnect 129 telephone numbers from the headquarters and give them to "ordinary people." Who is he trying to fool? There are 9,000 people in the waiting line in the city, and an automatic telephone exchange for 10,000 numbers has been "scheduled for completion" for more than 2 years. So get on with the construction work, get on with the job—commissioning the exchange would resolve all the problems at once. Otherwise the concern is only feigned.

The development of democracy and glasnost is an important testing time for every party worker. Some are passing this test and becoming closely involved in the new work, but we are having to lose others.

[Samoylenko] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, what, in your view, is the main obstacle to the development of democracy? How do you assess the prospects in this very important sphere of political reform?

[Kolbin] I will not risk answering this question by pointing to any one main obstacle. We have already spoken about many barriers in the path of the development of democracy during our conversation. If I were to sum them up somehow, I would stress the lack of sufficient skills and democratic traditions both "at the bottom" and "at the top." As for the prospects, I assess them optimistically, as realistic and largely guaranteed. Democracy and glasnost are the only true path for us, the path giving access to a radically new level of truly socialist development.

Kravchenko Appointed TASS Director General

LD0912162788 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—The Soviet Government on Friday appointed Leonid Kravchenko director-general of the news agency TASS.

Leonid Petrovich Kravchenko, 50, was born on May 10, 1938. After graduating from Moscow State University he worked in the mass media for many years. In 1971-75 he was on the staff of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

In 1975-80 Kravchenko was editor-in-chief of the building industry's newspaper STROYTELNAYA GAZETA, after which he headed the trade union daily TRUD for five years.

In the last three years he was first deputy chairman of the Gosteleradio Committee which handles radio and television broadcasting.

Kravchenko is the author of many works and writings in the field of journalism.

He succeeds Sergey Losev, who died last October, as TASS director-general.

Central Committee Forms Election Commission

LD0812212888 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party has formed an Election Commission for the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Valentin Koptyug, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was elected chairman of the commission which consists of 13 persons.

It is the first time such a commission is formed. Under the amendments to the Constitution of the USSR and the new Law on Elections adopted by the Soviet parliament in early December, the supreme organ of state authority of the country—a Congress of People's Deputies will be formed in two ways. Two-thirds of the total number of deputies will be elected by the population at territorial electoral districts, while one-third of the number of deputies (750 people) representing public organizations will be elected directly at plenums and congresses of these organizations. 100 people's deputies of the USSR will be elected from the Soviet Communist Party.

In order to ensure democratic principles of the elections, the election commission requested party organizations to name candidates by January 1, 1989. The candidates will first be discussed at local level, then at regional and territorial committees, at the central committees of the Communist Parties of constituent republics.

Any Communist can be nominated candidate for the Soviet Communist Party. However, he or she cannot run simultaneously in territorial or national-territorial electoral districts or from other public organizations.

Party organizations have been given the right to nominate prominent politicians, statesmen and public figures, outstanding representatives of the working class, collective farm peasantry, workers in science and the arts even if they reside in territories of other republics, territories and regions.

The registration of candidates to people's deputies of the USSR from territorial districts and public organizations is expected to start in the second half of January. The elections to the supreme body of authority are appointed for March 26, 1989.

Commission Members Named

PM0912121788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, on the basis of Article 28 of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies," has formed an Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies From the CPSU, consisting of:

Lidiya Dmitriyevna Bryzga, milking machine operator on the "Pamyat Ilicha" Kolkhoz in Brestskiy Rayon, Brest Oblast, Belorussian SSR;

Yanis Aloizovich Geyba, first secretary of Daugavpilsskiy Latvian Communist Party Raykom;

Vladimir Andreyevich Zatvornitskiy, leader of an integrated team at the "Mosstroy" No 1 Trust, Moscow;

Tatyana Georgiyevna Ivanova, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;

Valentin Afanasyevich Koptyug, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department;

Pavel Pavlovich Laptev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee General Department;

Yuriy Ivanovich Lobov, party committee secretary at the D.F. Ustinov "Izhmash" Production Association, Udmurt ASSR;

Pulatzhan Saataliyevich Maksudov, director of the Uzbek combine for high-melting-point and heat-resistant metals, Chirchik;

Gurami Archilovich Metonidze, leader of an electrical installation team in Tbilisi's V.I. Lenin electric locomotives building plant, Georgian SSR;

USSR People's Artist Yerkegali Rakhmadiyev, composer and first secretary of the Kazakh SSR Composers' Union;

Anatoliy Mikhaylovich Fateyev, second secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom;

Doctor of Juridical Sciences Prof Yuriy Sergeyevich Shemshuchenko, director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute and corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences;

Aleksandr Ivanovich Shitov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for People's Control.

"The Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies From the CPSU"

A session of the Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies From the CPSU elected V.A. Koptyug commission chairman, T.G. Ivanova deputy chairman, and P.P. Laptev commission secretary.

The electoral commission is located at the following address: Moscow, Vladimirov Lane, Block No. 2, Entrance No. 16.

"From the Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies From the CPSU"

The Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies From the CPSU announces that, in accordance with the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies," 100 USSR people's deputies will be elected from the CPSU. Any member of the CPSU can be nominated as a candidate people's deputy. Candidate people's deputies from the CPSU cannot run simultaneously for election in territorial or national-territorial electoral okrugs or for election by other public organizations.

For the purpose of ensuring democratic principles in the election, the electoral commission asks party organizations and members and candidate members of the CPSU to submit nominations for candidate deputies. The nominations of Communists working at the local level must be examined by primary party organizations and subsequently by party gorkoms and raykoms with representatives of these organizations in attendance. On the basis of these nominations, the party kraykoms and obkoms and the central committees of union republic communist

parties decide, following procedures to be determined by themselves, on the submission to the CPSU Central Committee of nominations for candidate USSR people's deputies.

Nominations of well-known political, state, and public figures or eminent representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, science, and technology working or residing in the territory of other republics, krays, and oblasts are submitted directly to the CPSU Central Committee.

During the summation of the nominations attention will be given primarily to nominations which have received broad support in party organizations and among Communists. It must be borne in mind in this process that the party is interested in ensuring that the nominees for candidate USSR people's deputies are truly active participants in restructuring, Communists possessing all the qualities necessary for work in our country's supreme organ of state power.

The deadline for submission of nominations is 1 January 1989.

[Signed] Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies from the CPSU

Moscow Obkom Chief Comments on Apparatus Cuts

PM0712152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom, by correspondent Yu. Kazmin in Moscow under the rubric "Party Life: Restructuring the Apparatus": "Not From Chair to Chair..."; date not given; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] PRAVDA now receives many letters devoted to the reduction of the party apparatus and the changes to its structure and functions. While on the whole approving the line taken, the letter writers, including some from Moscow Oblast, express different and sometimes very contradictory opinions. How is the reorganization going, and what difficulties are arising in the search for a new, improved structure?

The PRAVDA correspondent's conversation with V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of Moscow CPSU Obkom, began with this question.

[Mesyats] Speaking of fears about the formal "transfer of party workers from chair to chair," we are seeking to avoid this in our oblast party organization. We endeavor to proceed from the interests of the cause, collating our steps and thoughts with the demands of the times and with the great lessons in democracy and glasnost taught us by the 19th all-union party conference.

We have practically finished restructuring the party apparatus in the obkom and in gorkoms and raykoms. Nine of the obkom's 18 departments have been reduced. They are mainly sectoral ones: Science and Educational Institutions, Culture, Industry, Light Industry and Consumer Goods, Construction and Construction Materials, Transport and Communications, Municipal Services, Trade and Consumer Services, and Foreign Ties. On the other hand, departments have been not just been preserved but considerably strengthened and given more exact titles, such as the Party Organizational and Cadre Work and the Ideological Departments. This has been dictated by the need to delimit the functions of party committees and soviet and economic organs in practice under the new conditions and to go over to political methods of leadership.

Relations between the apparatus and the elected organ also have to be changed. For example, the new institution of responsible organizers [otvetorganizatory] is being created in the Party Organizational and Cadre Work Department. We can also be given great assistance by the Commissions for Party Organizational and Cadre Work, Ideological Work, Socioeconomic Development, and Agrarian Questions, which we are forming from among members of the party obkom and gorkoms and raykoms. But I think it is important here not to repeat past mistakes whereby we had numerous staffs and commissions. However, some of them gave rise only to formalism and red tape.

As the result of a careful study and selection, the apparatus of Moscow party obkom has been reduced by one-third. The most creative and politically mature cadres, in our view, are left. Many of them are graduates of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and have higher party political education.

We made a specific and detailed study of everyone who was faced with leaving the obkom. I will say bluntly: People were revealed who, so we believe, must not be entrusted with leading work today. They will work in production according to their specialty. However, those who have been cut back include comrades with valuable organizational skills. They have been sent to reinforce the leadership of soviet and economic organs. In short, we endeavor to give the maximum attention to everyone and to find him work of which he is capable.

But difficulties and even problems have also arisen. Vacancies have appeared in the rayon link, for example. True, so far not many people wish to assume the responsibility of working in a gorkom or raykom apparatus. Qualified specialists do not like the wages or, more importantly, the work load and the frequent lack of free time. There is no denying that the party worker's "privileges" in this sphere are not very attractive.

[Kazmin] Please describe in greater detail the transformations in the apparatus of Moscow Oblast party raykoms and gorkoms. How does their structure differ from the obkom's? Do these differences not hinder reliable work coordination?

[Mesyats] Unfortunately, over the long years when there was little glasnost, the idea arose among the people that party gorkoms and raykoms have inordinately large staffs. However, this is far from true. Judge for yourselves. For example, the apparatus of Ramenskoye Gorkom, which numbers 33 people, organizes the work of 248 primary party organizations uniting more than 16,000 CPSU members. Each inspector is in charge of more than 20 collectives. In order to know the state of affairs in not only primary but also shop party organizations and party groups, the worker in the rayon or city link really has to make full use of one "privilege" of his profession—the nonstandard working day—and sometimes forgo both days off and holidays.

We reckon that giving party organs primarily political functions will free our cadres from many duties that do not belong to them. This will make it possible to significantly deepen ideological and educational work in labor collectives, and we will make fewer cadre mistakes—which, in the final analysis, will make it possible to accelerate restructuring processes at every enterprise and in all spheres of social life.

You rightly noted differences in the structure of Moscow CPSU Obkom and party gorkoms and raykoms. The obkom bureau deliberately has not mechanically copied these structures. Each rayon has its own specific features and priorities. We viewed the structure of the rayon link individually. Socioeconomic development departments have been created in 11 of the largest rayons. In connection with substantial changes in the organization of clerical work in the direction of reducing statistical reporting and simplifying protocol work, the general departments have been replaced by sectors in 19 gorkoms and raykoms. I will point out that the organizational and ideological departments on all party gorkoms and raykoms have been reinforced from units which are being abolished. Emphasis is being placed on shifting the center of party work to primary organizations.

It should be noted that people frequently turn to party gorkoms and raykoms with their troubles and complaints and for help and advice. It is there that the bulk of problems are resolved. It is in raykoms that broad opportunities are opened up for in-depth individual educational work. Is it right to raise the question of reducing the apparatus in the link which is closest to people? I am convinced that it is not.

Certain specific factors also have to be taken into account at the oblast level. In this connection we considered it expedient to have an Agrarian Department and a State-Legal Department at Moscow CPSU Obkom. The Agrarian Department will help to realize the food program as the party's priority task at the contemporary stage. The State-Legal Department will coordinate administrative organs and public organizations' efforts in the struggle against negative manifestations. It plays a very important role in our state's development as a rule-of-law state.

[Kazmin] The functions of party control will also evidently change under the new conditions. What are you doing in that direction?

[Mesyats] In accordance with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference guidelines of the control and auditing commissions are being created in the Moscow Oblast party organization, as well as certain other kray, oblast, and city organizations, with a view to building up experience of working with unified control organs and preparing the necessary materials on this question in time for the upcoming 28th party congress. Control and auditing commissions have already been formed at party conferences in a number of city and rayon party organizations, and the party and auditing commissions have been abolished. The delegates to the oblast party conference will also elect the oblast control and auditing commission. The new control organs are to concentrate their efforts on ensuring reliable guarantees against conservatism, subjectivism, arbitrary decisionmaking, demagoguery, red tape, and the influence of personal and chance circumstances on the conduct of party policy.

The existence of two elected organs with equal rights in the rayon, city, and oblast party organizations will, in our view, make it possible to wage a more principled and resolute struggle against facts and phenomena which hinder restructuring. Because the resolutions adopted by the control and auditing commissions cannot be rescinded by the corresponding party committees. Possible disagreements must be eliminated at joint sessions of party committee bureaus and commission presidiums or, where necessary, at joint plenums of these organs.

One of the most important questions concerns party controller cadres. What will they be like? Let us recall V.I. Lenin's words. They must be people, he wrote in the work "Fewer Really Is Better," "who can be relied on to take not one word on trust and to say not one word against their conscience." We believe that, now that the Leninist principles of internal party control are being revived, the most authoritative Communists and committed champions of restructuring, who possess lofty political and moral qualities, experience of life, and experience of social work and who enjoy the real trust of Communists and nonparty people, must be elected to the commissions.

[Kazmin] You frequently notice that personnel who are themselves very vigorously and eloquently against applying administrative pressure and ordering people about, in practice always wait for instructions on the most elementary questions before starting to act. The stagnation habit of referring to a lack of instructions or orders is still alive. How is this psychological barrier being overcome?

[Mesyats] An interesting question. It must be borne in mind that there are still party organization committees and secretaries who are lagging behind the restructuring processes, taking their time, and being irresolute in

mastering new forms and methods of activity. The force of inertia is too great, and additional efforts are needed to overcome it. The bureaucratic style of administration stemmed from the fact that it is easier to give a command, whereas the committees sometimes did not get around to delving deeply into the life of a party organization or labor collective and finding ways to resolve a problem by democratic methods, through Communists and working people.

In order to eliminate such phenomena, the obkom and its bureau and secretariat are above all changing their own work style. They have begun more actively studying questions of developing Communists' initiative and activeness. Thus, this year they have delved in detail into the work of Zhukovskiy CPSU Gorkom on extending democratic principles in the selection, placing, and training of cadres. They have analyzed the activity of Pushkino CPSU Gorkom in developing democratic principles in the work of the labor collectives of the rayon's enterprises and organizations on the basis of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). They have studied the way Krasnogorsk Gorkom is developing Communists' labor and sociopolitical activeness in the light of the 19th all-union party conference requirements. I would say that such work requires more effort.

Party committees and primary party organizations today are seeking to enhance Communists' activeness and to develop in them a principled attitude toward assessing their own leaders. The latest reports and elections attest to this. Because of shortcomings, inertia, and low exactingness toward Communist leaders, the work of 71 party group organizers and the secretaries of 33 shop party bureaus and 46 primary party organizations has been deemed unsatisfactory. I will also point out that the elections of one party group organizer in every four, of one shop party organization secretary in every two, and of almost all primary party organization secretaries were held in accordance with the competition system, that is, from two or more candidacies.

If we look at party leadership of the economy, today life demands that we not wait for instructions but get as actively involved as possible in asserting the new economic mechanism. Unfortunately there are many examples where, as you said, the "psychological barrier" has to be overcome in the struggle against passiveness.

Take such an important question as the transfer to the lease contract in agricultural production. We have achieved definite results here, but there are also problems. We cannot be satisfied that two-thirds of the oblast's farms still do not have collectives which have gone over to the lease contract and that just 4 percent of arable land has been leased to rural workers. Why is this? For the results of the lease contract have convincingly proved its right to intensive dissemination. The whole point is that certain party and economic leaders display passiveness. In my view, there is one way out here—it is necessary profoundly and comprehensively to instruct farm leaders and specialists, as well as workers and kolkhoz members, in the lease contract, lease relations, and work payment based on gross income, to enhance the personal responsibility of Communist leaders, and to exercise more efficient control over the decisions adopted.

In conclusion I wish to say that, having reduced the apparatus, we will do everything to rally the ranks of the oblast party organization for efficient work and for the more successful resolution of contemporary tasks.

Zaykov, Ligachev Attend Party Meetings

LD0812214188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Reports back and elections are under way in the party organizations of Moscow, and rayon conferences of the CPSU are continuing. The Communists are analyzing the work of party committees, and rigorously evaluating the participation of their collectives in restructuring.

On 8 December, meetings took place between Comrades Zaykov and Ligachev with the Communists, workers and leaders, and secretaries of the party organizations of the Kalininskiy Rayon of the capital. The CPSU Central Committee secretaries visited the Serp i Molot works, and were acquainted with the social sphere in the rayon. Key problems of the current stage of the restructuring were discussed in conversation with party and management activists and with the delegates of the upcoming rayon report-back and election party conference. The Communists and working people of the rayon spoke of a feeling of sharp pain for the trouble which has stricken the people of Armenia, and expressed readiness to give practical, internationalist assistance to the population of the fraternal republic.

Work Continues To Clean Up Chernobyl Zone

PM0812155188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov report: "Day to Day Work in Chernobyl"]

[Text] When you visit a place frequently, you stop noticing the changes. Everything changes gradually, imperceptibly, as it were. This is true also of Chernobyl where I happen to visit quite often. Nonetheless, not everything looks the same today as during my last visit, and, naturally, it is quite different from what it was during the first weeks after the accident. There are no mobile concrete mixers any more on the approaches to the zone. A stream of cars rolls down the road. There are no more big signs warning that it is prohibited to pull off the road. The PUSO—special treatment centers—are idling. The roads and motor vehicles are clean.... Incidentally, not everywhere. Beyond the Ivankov rayon

center the warning signs remain. I have been told that along the road there are concentrations of radionuclides that have been washed off the asphalt....

The checkpoint on the edge of the 30-km zone looks well-equipped and has an air of permanence. Yet the people monitoring radiation are not very busy here: "Contaminated" vehicles do not leave the zone. And although more than 30 months rather than 30 days have already passed since that memorable accident, thousands of people—mainly servicemen—are still hard at work in the evacuation zone and directly at the AES.

At the USSR Civil Defense operational group political department the telephones never stop ringing. However, it is no longer brief, alarming messages that are passed.... The conversations now center on day-to-day problems—the results of reports and elections in party organizations and ways of improving the working and leisure conditions of personnel. Of course, other problems are also being resolved here. After all, in-depth decontamination of the station's territory, premises, and nearby population centers is continuing....

Together with Chief of the Political Department Colonel V. Fomenko, I visit the location of the N-th mechanized civil defense regiment. How different this military settlement is from the temporary camp sites surrounded by barbed wire and primitive roadblocks which I remember. The settlement has two mess halls, a club, a store, a sauna, and a swimming pool.

The civil defense servicemen are now doing all sorts of work, including jobs which were not foreseen for them originally. In the Polesskoye rayon center, for instance, they have replaced some 4,000 roofs on houses, and repaired fences and wells.

I must say that officers and communist supervisors are setting their subordinates an inspiring example of a high-standard, enterprising, and truly responsible attitude to work. This is natural, in a way. Their sense of duty to the party is the same here as it would be at the front line. Senior Lieutenant Kh. Andriyash, secretary of the battalion's party organization, for instance, worked for a long time with the drivers of the special vehicles engaged in dust suppression, as it was called. Lieutenant V. Zayenko, deputy commander of the regiment for political affairs, spends all his time with the people engaged on the decontamination of the power station's premises.

The station.... It was not all that easy to gain admission this time. This is understandable, of course. The station is operating. The strictest order is necessary.

In the administrative building there is new equipment for monitoring contamination. I squeeze between two metal plates, just like an x-ray machine. I pass the palms of my hands, as required, over highly sensitive sensors. The instruments confirm the absence of radionuclides.

In one of the offices I meet Colonel Kh. Kalvan. Khubert Yezupovich is in charge of decontamination operations at the station. Applications from the administration end up on his desk, allocation of teams is decided here, and radiation records are kept here. Lieutenant S. Smirnov and his subordinates have just been dispatched on their next mission. They will be working by the tower crane, in the immediate vicinity of No. 4 unit, helping the comprehensive expedition of the I.V. Kurchatov Institute of Nuclear Energy.

The expedition was set up in December 1987 and its work plan was agreed with the USSR Academy of Sciences. At the focus of the expedition's attention is the "Entombment" project (the monumental structure sometimes graphically referred to as the sarcophagus). People here consider it too early to discontinue constant scientific observations of this project. As to what, specifically, is being done was described in detail recently by I. Kambulov, the expedition leader, on the pages of the large-circulation newspaper of the "Kombinat" production association: "We have to reach the fuel and analyze it; ascertain its physical parameters; and formulate a strictly scientific notion of the installation's nuclear safety. We also have to define something else: Where do we go from here? We know what has to be done. The question is: How? This is what we are working on...."

I had a detailed conversation with Yu. Koba, the expedition's chief engineer.

Five drilling machines are working inside the "entombment," he said. More than 30 boreholes have been sunk into the reactor at different heights....

You will be able to form a picture of the complexity of this operation if I tell you that some 300 people are needed to sink just one such borehole. People work in two shifts for 3 months: They clean and decontaminate the premises. The diameter of the borehole is around 100mm through walls that are more than 10m thick. During the drilling operation special solutions capable of absorbing neutrons are used. What are the preliminary results of this research? Calculations carried out by specialists with the help of computers have made it possible to reach an unequivocal conclusion: The No. 4 unit does not present a nuclear threat.

The "Kombinat" production association has a workforce of thousands of people. It has taken on an enormous amount of work. And it is carrying it out successfully. Although specialists have plenty of problems even today. Take the process of soil decontamination, for instance. Buldozers are mainly used for this purpose. In order to remove a layer of soil 10 cm thick, half a meter has to be lifted. The caterpillars mix clean soil with contaminated soil. Special equipment is needed, but the orders for this equipment are not being fulfilled.

In general, after numerous conversations with officials, I have the feeling that the attitude to many of Chernobyl's problems a long way from the special zone is less responsible than it used to be.

However, there are no grounds for claims that monitoring of the state of health of people, and in particular servicemen who work in the AES zone has slackened. I am mentioning this because I recently received a letter from Moscow Oblast which was embued with concern for this.

Clearly this is a consequence of the fact that the flow of information from the special zone has considerably subsided. And, of course, by no means all people know that while formerly 25 roentgens were regarded as a permissible radiation dose for those who were engaged on the elimination of the consequences of accident, this limit has now been reduced to 5 roentgens, or rather 5 rem (a rem is approximately equivalent to a roentgen, but it "takes account of" irradiation as a result of radionuclides entering the organism). And what is more, even at 4 rem, personnel is moved to work where contamination is lower.

The situation in the Chernobyl area has made it possible this year to comply with the requests of many foreign specialists wanting to visit the station. At the end of August a delegation of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission headed by the commission's chairman Lando Zech visited the AES. The Americans were the first foreign specialists to enter the "entombment." They were even able to peer through the boreholes into the damaged reactor. Naturally, with the help of a special device. In all, more than 200 delegations from over 40 countries of the world have visited Chernobyl AES.

However, it is not possible to speak of a complete normalization of the situation. By no means everywhere can radiation safety be guaranteed. Meanwhile many people—hundreds of them—have this year returned to houses in the evacuation zone. In the summer even children came for their vacations. This kind of carelessness is unjustified. The return of people on their own initiative has led to problems in food, water, and fuel supply.

In short, even today Chernobyl is raising quite a few new questions. They must be discussed aloud and resolved.

Arrangements for Census Taking Described

PM0812095588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 4

["Topical Interview" with A.A. Isupov, chief of the Population Census Administration of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, by unnamed SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent: "Census-89"; place, date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The all-union population census is almost upon us—it will begin throughout our country's territory at 0800 hours local time on 12 January 1989 and will last 8 days, until 19 January. A SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent asked A.A. Isupov, chief of the USSR State Committee for Statistics Population Census Administration, to describe the importance, tasks, and specific features of the 1989 census and how it will be conducted in the countryside.

[Correspondent] How many of us are there, and what are we, the country's citizens, like? Where and how do we live?

[Isupov] It is 10 years since the last all-union population census. According to its data, the rural population in 1979 amounted to 98.8 million, representing 38 percent of the country's population. Current statistics show that the number of rural residents is gradually declining (34 percent in 1987).

[Correspondent] But if current statistics provide the figures we need, why conduct a census?

[Isupov] The 1989 census will give us not only an accurate figure for the numbers of rural residents at present, but also information which will enable us to analyze the reasons for the outflow of population from the countryside and to forecast the further development of this process. Significant social and economic changes have taken place in our country over the last few years. What is their effect? The census will also help us provide an answer to this question. Thanks to the census, we will be in a position to describe the rural population quite accurately along social, demographical, economic, national, and other lines, both in the country as a whole and by specific regions, and this information is necessary for the efficient planning of the countryside's economic and social development.

[Correspondent] How does the 1989 census differ from the previous one? How does it reflect the tasks facing the state and society today?

[Isupov] Continuity is typical of the all-union census programs, in other words the list of questions which every citizen must answer—only thus can the dynamics of society's development be observed. But new questions also arise between censuses; they are dictated by time. A number of additions have been introduced in the 1989 census forms. It was already noted that they will make it possible to obtain a more accurate picture of migration from the countryside. We will also check the efficiency of the current system of vocational and technical training and the way its graduates are utilized in the national economy, we will clarify whether the number of children in families is rising, and we will compile more accurate demographical forecasts. In reply to the question about sources of means for existence, people can indicate not just one source, as before, but two (if, of course, they do have two sources). The list of these sources itself now also contains individual labor activity and work in a cooperative.

Finally, there will be answers to seven questions about the population's living conditions. This information is very important for the organs planning the building of housing, the housing planners, and all who are responsible for the fulfillment of a most important task—to provide a separate apartment or an individual home for every family by the year 2000.

[Correspondent] Will confidentiality of the population's answers be observed in the census?

[Isupov] All the census information is totally anonymous: It will be entered in the computer without any personal details, without identification by address or surname; all data will be used only in a generalized form for planning needs, for scientific research, and for economic activity. Census officials are prohibited from disclosing any information about specific individuals to anyone. In other words, the census does not in any way infringe upon either the personal and property rights or the interests of individual citizens.

[Correspondent] Let us recall: Lev Tolstoy compared censuses with a mirror in which society as a whole and each and every one of us can see himself. The quality of this mirror is of decisive importance. A census can be valuable only if the accumulated data is as complete and accurate as possible. On what and on whom does the veracity of information depend?

[Isupov] The quality of the information acquired during the census depends primarily on every one of the country's citizens, on his accurate, clear, and complete answers to the questions in the census form. This is especially important in view of the fact that no documents will be required to back up the answers, and all information will be recorded on the basis of what the interviewees say. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to remind people: All answers must be given according to the status at midnight on 11-12 January. This is the so-called "census moment," making it possible to achieve the utmost accuracy of information.

And finally, the census interviewer, the key figure in the census. His ability to mix with people, to clearly ask the questions, and to accurately record the answers in the census form will largely determine the accuracy and completeness of the census data. Census interviewers in the countryside were nominated by leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and education establishments and they were individually appointed by local ispolkoms. They will be given detailed instructions. Every census interviewer will be issued with a badge carrying the inscription "All-Union Population Census 1989" and a certificate. This will be the document empowering them to conduct the census.

The census interviewer will call at every home at least twice. First on one of the days between 7 and 10 January to verify previously recorded information for every home and to agree on the most convenient time to call back and fill in the census forms. On one of the appointed days between 12 and 19 January the census interviewer will call and ask every adult the questions on the census form. Census interviewers will call at some homes three times; the third checkup call will be made to all housing premises in every fourth rural census district. Its purpose is to check whether the census was taken correctly and whether all the population was covered.

[Correspondent] The census interviewer's work in the countryside must be quite hard. What will be his work load? What assistance will he receive?

[Isupov] Yes, each one of them will interview an average of 355 persons and will have to cover many kilometers. In order to help the census interviewers and make their job easier, the USSR Council of Ministers resolution dated 11 February 1988 allowed census personnel free travel between 3 January and 1 February, especially on suburban bus routes, and called for census officials to be provided with means of transportation. The solution of this task is fully within the powers of organization and enterprise leaders. We also hope that they will promptly supply census departments and instruction sections with comfortable accommodation equipped with the necessary furniture and reliable telephone communications.

We also call on every resident in the countryside to give utmost assistance to the census personnel. What does this mean? First of all, an amicable attitude toward the census interviewer's visits and readiness to set aside the time needed to correctly complete the census form. I would like to make the following request of SELSKAYA ZHIZN readers: Bear in mind that the census officials are doing an important and necessary job in the interests of every citizen and of society as a whole, and so let us all help them as much as we can.

Publishing Workers Bemoan Newspaper Delays

PM0712143388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Letter signed by 44 workers in the URALSKIY RABOCHIY Publishing House newspaper section in the city of Sverdlovsk under the rubric "From the Mailbag" and the general heading "Opinions to the Point": "What is the Cost of Newspaper Delays?"]

[Text] We, workers in the URALSKIY RABOCHIY Publishing House newspaper section, feel it necessary to raise some questions concerning regular interruptions in the newspaper production process, for which the editorial offices of central press bodies are to blame.

This kind of thing happens on days generally known as "government" days. On these days (or, to be more precise, during these nights) in publishing houses throughout the country (and the URALSKIY RABOCHIY Publishing House is a particular case in point) people, equipment, and transport stand idle for hours on

end while the physical and moral strength of the workforce, energy resources, material resources, and so forth go completely to waste. On a nationwide scale, the losses amount to thousands of hours of work time and thousands of rubles thrown to the wind. One asks oneself, does the state really need this?

sw;8.7qWe share the desire of the press to carry particularly important material in the earliest possible issue of a newspaper. For newspapers like PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, TRUD, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the timely coverage of material of state, sociopolitical, and historical importance is a point of honor and simple professional duty. But the further you are from Moscow, the longer the country's publishing houses have to wait for this important material and the longer and more obvious the holdups become. Would it not be more sensible (both materially and morally) if, on the day of receiving this kind of material, only publishing houses in Moscow and the Moscow region were to print the full text, while brief information on particularly important material could be relayed by facsimile to the country's more far-flung regions for publication?

The printing industry of today is in no position to try to compete in efficiency, say, with radio and television, whose arsenal includes more sophisticated equipment, even communication satellites, and so preference should be given to the more technically progressive mass media and everyone should work within the limits of their own potential.

We would like to add that newspapers, the printing of which sometimes begins at 0700 or even 0900 and ends after midday because of the aforementioned delays, often do not even reach the reader on the date printed under the masthead. What is more, they do not even reach some remote regions of our oblast the day after that.

We would also like to remind you that publishing houses have embarked on economic accountability and that the country is in the process of restructuring. This means that newspaper production must also move ahead in a considered, purposeful way, rather than hastily and recklessly as has been the case so far. That is how we see it.

Attorneys Move Toward National Association

PM0912104788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Attorneys Confer"]

[Text] A meeting of the leaders of the country's attorney collegiums took place on 7 December in the USSR Justice Ministry to discuss the question of creating a USSR Association of Attorneys.

A preparatory committee has been formed consisting of representatives from all the union republics. It is instructed to prepare the association's draft statutes and other documents to be discussed at an all-union conference of attorneys.

Economic

Abalkin Discusses Socialist Market Formation

LD0212204688 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—A fundamentally new system of management of the national economy representing "the supreme synthesis of planning and market methods of the regulation of the economy" can be shaped in the USSR by the turn of the century, holds prominent Soviet economist Leonid Abalkin. He addressed today an all-union conference on wholesale trade in means of production, which ended here.

Academician Abalkin is of the opinion that three sets of conditions are needed for the implementation of a strategic task of perestroyka, the creation of socialist market. The first set of conditions is a comprehensive improvement of the economy. This presupposes, specifically, the elimination of the budgetary deficit, the normalisation of financial-crediting relations and creation of a new mechanism of price formation.

The second set of conditions, the scientist noted, provides for the development of economic competitiveness and reducing to the minimum monopoly in production, and the establishment of a close link between the country's market and world market. This includes also the achievement of the task set at a meeting of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee early last October, that of gradually making the Soviet ruble convertible.

And the third set of conditions is the training of certified cadres and the breakage of the stereotype of a negative attitude to the market.

The first stage of the improvement of the economy will last at least two or three years. Separate elements of market-oriented relations, for instance, trade in machinery and equipment on the basis of direct ties between enterprises and with the use of contract prices will develop over this period. Markets of investment resources and securities which are already being issued by some Soviet enterprises will start forming.

Large-scale development of market-oriented methods of the regulation of the country's economy will be concluded by mid-nineties. At the same time the introduction of market mechanism does not mean that there will be no state regulation in implementing major social and

economic programs, for instance, the program of space exploration, the development of northern regions of the country, of the health services and education, Leonid Abalkin said.

Economist Defends Shareholding Concepts

PM0812091788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by A. Vavilov, candidate of economic sciences, under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Shares: New Rights or New Words?"]

[Text] Optimists may rejoice that there exists a new economic instrument, namely, shares. The Council of Ministers resolution "On the Issue of Securities by Enterprises and Organizations" has been published. It is all a bit unusual—machine tools, equipment, cast iron, and steel have always had value here—and suddenly pieces of paper become assets. But Finance Minister B. Gostev has openly stated that "shareholders are increasingly becoming masters of the workplace and have a direct vested interest in ensuring that state property at enterprises' disposal is well looked after."

I do not know about you, but I am troubled by a certain confusion here. Why will shareholders look after state property if, as the resolution points out, property relations are not changed? Let us try and see to what extent shareholders will really be in charge and what kind of property is involved.

The basic principles pertaining to the organization of joint-stock companies and shareholders' rights are roughly identical in different countries, although they can differ substantially in detail. To avoid getting enmeshed in the subtleties of international law, let us look at our state's civil code which operated in the twenties and regulated the activity of Soviet joint-stock companies.

A shareholder (together with other shareholders) was entitled during those years to establish a joint-stock company, to take part in elections to the board, to inspect the company's documents, to sell shares, and to receive an annual dividend. And, with majority agreement, wind the company up. Here the shareholder could lose his investment, for with a company being wound up only that money left over after all other commitments have been met is distributed to shareholders.

But what kind of rights does a shareholder have now? The right to set up, reorganize, and wind up a company remains, as the resolution makes clear, the monopoly of the state, or, to be precise, the state apparatus. An enterprise retains the right to utilize state property. A shareholder takes part in elections to the administration on an equal footing with a member of the labor collective—that is, he has no special rights here at all. There is no mention of inspecting documents here either.

A shareholder therefore has only one right, the right to receive a dividend, the size of which could, depending on the economic situation, amount to 30 percent but could also be zero. In practical terms our share is not a share but simply a loan from the population roughly the same as in a bank or savings account, save that a savings bank guarantees a minimum rate of interest and return on investment while the shareholder gets neither interest (dividend) nor the return of his share guaranteed. You may receive high interest but you can also lose the lot.

And, in my view, it is not at all fortuitous that the question of setting up joint-stock companies has been virtually unelaborated to date, yet it is they which really alter the attitude to property by involving workers en masse in management. In developed countries, Sweden, for example, considerable bundles of corporate shares belong to public organizations—public welfare funds, trade unions. This gives them a realistic basis for involvement in management. We for the time being, however, have only one paragraph in the interim provision "On the Procedure for the Issuing of Securities by Enterprises and Organizations Switched Over to Full Economic Accountability and Self-Financing" which speaks of the possibility of organizing joint-stock companies. I am certain that we cannot talk about them seriously until a law on joint-stock companies and societies has been enacted. No special inventions are required here, for the sections of our state's civil code from the twenties would be entirely suitable.

Usually the most serious objection to joint stock companies is the supposed nonlabor character of the dividends received from an investment. But permit me to ask: Does that mean that a man who risks his hard-earned savings by investing them in the development of the production of the goods that society needs is not entitled to some recompense for his risk? And the choice of investment, is that not a form of labor? A state functionary casts billions to the wind ("projects of the century" such as the diversion of the northern rivers cost that alone) and does not lose a single kopek, whereas a shareholder may lose everything. The shareholder does not rush off to the stores to spend his money on a fur coat or a video cassette recorder but instead offers financing to society to develop the production of those selfsame consumer goods—does he not deserve some reward for that? But even if one accepts for a moment that a proportion of the dividend is nonlabor income, there is still no logic in the actions of the state apparatus. The aforementioned resolution gives the right to receive dividends but does not give any rights to dispose of property. In other words, it seems to permit only the most "dubious" right of the shareholder while reserving all the rights of disposal and administration to the management of an enterprise and the administrative organs.

The redistribution of economic power from the state apparatus to enterprises and organizations is still making quite slow progress. The power of the ministerial "apparatus," based on the right to create, reorganize, or close

down an enterprise and to influence the appointment of the administration, will be very great. This is whereas the broad distribution of the joint-stock form of organizing enterprises effectively breaks the monopoly position of the bureaucratic apparatus in the management of social ownership.

It must be recognized, however, that the opponents of the decentralization of power have won this round. You cannot trifle with economic laws, however, and we think that shareholders will gain their rights as a matter of course. But we must not delay. The socialist countries' experience has shown what is in store for us if we do not quickly create a developed financial structure for the management of the national economy with the capacity to rapidly transfer resources from a less efficient sector into a more efficient one. And that cannot be created without a joint-stock form of ownership—a democratic form of the people's participation in the management of the economy.

Official Terms Export Growth Inadequate

PM0812143188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 3

[Report on interview with Yu.A. Pekshev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, by G. Meyzerov: "Difficult Steps of Reform"; date, place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Year 2 of the reform of the system of the USSR's foreign economic ties is nearing its end. At SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA's request, Yu.A. Pekshev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, describes the problems which have been encountered in the course of restructuring in this sphere.

"The first steps connected with the restructuring of the Soviet Union's foreign economic activity and the development of its management structure have been taken.

"The management of export and import operations has ceased to be the exclusive prerogative of Moscow. Now all the union republics can tackle these questions independently. Joint enterprises on USSR territory, which many Western businessmen regarded as doubtful until quite recently, are now a reality.

"Considerable foreign currency funds have been set up in the associations, enterprises, and organizations which are involved in foreign economic activity. Furthermore, this money may be used without prior permission for modernization and retooling of production above all.

"The administrative apparatus has been drastically pared down so as to eliminate duplication and departmentalism. The Ministry of Foreign Trade and the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations have been abolished, and a USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations has been set up. The activity of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and state customs has been substantially restructured. For the management of export and import operations, special associations have been created within ministries and departments, and likewise, foreign trade firms have been set up within enterprises whose main task is to bring additional resources, mainly those of republic and local industry, into commodity exchange. The Law on the Cooperative System gave extensive opportunities to cooperatives and their unions.

"Recently our press has published many articles on aspects of foreign economic ties. Some authors have been critical, claiming that restructuring in this area is extremely slow. And in that regard they have voiced opinions on how to remedy the situation. For instance, they suggest attracting extra credits to buy consumer goods, establishing an economically validated, unified rate of exchange for the ruble into foreign currencies, switching to the convertibility of the transfer ruble, as it is known, and creating free trade zones and special economic zones.

"None of the measures taken individually will enable significant changes to occur or the situation to be radically improved. There must be phased and comprehensive work.

"The situation now is that a number of industrial ministries are making inadequate use of the rights and opportunities granted to them. Clearly the inability to organize work, a lack of the necessary experience, and sometimes even a reluctance to assume responsibility have an effect. Many associations, enterprises, and organizations have also not yet learned how to take advantage of the benefit that the development of cooperation offers, particularly in its new forms. Direct ties, for example, are still mainly directed toward the exchange of experience and not the organization of production cooperation.

"All leaders of sectors and enterprises have by no means overcome the old approach to foreign economic work. They work on the premise that it is easier to ask the state for resources to import goods than to earn foreign currency by developing their own export activity. So far ministries have primarily just issued import requests and have made virtually no new export suggestions. In such a situation it is hard to balance the foreign trade commodity exchange and create the foreign currency reserves that the country needs. We still have not resolved a series of questions on the stimulation of Soviet exports and the reduction of irrational imports. This necessitates radical changes in the price formation system to achieve greater balance between domestic and international prices and the establishment of a validated rate for the ruble and foreign currencies to enable the ruble to be made convertible in the very near future.

"We cannot be satisfied with the structure of Soviet exports, either. Even though exports increased (in current prices) in the first half of 1988, unlike in the previous 2 years, this is due to an increase in the deliveries of fuel and energy resources, metals, chemical products, and industrial consumer goods. The proportion of machine-building output exported is not increasing.

"The Soviet economy's development trends in recent years necessitate a transfer to an active policy in world trade, in the currency and financial system, and in its main institutions. The first steps have already been taken: An agreement has been concluded between CEMA and the EEC. Our position on GATT is positive, and we are ready to continue the process of rapprochement that is under way with a view to eventually joining that organization."

Scientific

Joint French Crew Prepares for Space Walk

LD0812154688 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 8 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—The space walk of the commander of the Soviet-French crew, Aleksandr Volkov, and French research cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien was scheduled for tomorrow 13 hours 09 minutes Moscow time, a TASS correspondent learned at the mission control centre.

Today, on the eve of this major operation, all six cosmonauts, including Flight Engineer Sergey Krikalev, and participants in the long-time expedition Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov, are engaged in preparations for the Era experiment.

The experiment involves setting up on the outer surface of the Mir station and deploying complex structures. In future such structures will serve as a platform for mounting large-size modules, telescope mirrors and all kinds of antennas.

Specialists from the mission control centre said the Soviet and French cosmonauts would spend a total of four hours in open space.

Crew Members Leave 'Mir'

LD0912113988 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Yuriy Shevyakov and Vladimir Isachenkov:

Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien, on a 26-day Soviet-French space mission which began on November 26, left their Mir orbiting station on Friday for work in outer space.

The experiments the cosmonauts are to carry out during their space walk are very important for the technological development of solar power plants and large antennas.

In one of the experiments, called "Era", the cosmonauts will test an unfolding carbon plastic structure. When folded, it looks like a bundle of twigs and when unfolded, it is shaped like a hexahedral prism, nearly one metre high and four metres wide.

First, Volkov and Chretien will assembly a platform on the outer surface of the station's transition section and then fasten the structure to it.

After that the cosmonauts will carry out a vibration test on the structure, with the use of measuring devices.

The experiment over, a special device will jettison the structure on command from Mir's control panel.

The work will be recorded by a video camera connected to a video tape-recorder inside the station. On December 21, upon completion of the flight's programme, the video tape will be taken back to earth.

Volkov and Chretien will also fasten a unit with various materials and coatings intended for use in outer space on the station's outer surface.

The materials and coatings will, for more than six months, be exposed to the space environment: solar and space radiation, free hydrogen atoms, and sharp temperature drops.

The samples will be taken off during the next space walk by Soviet cosmonauts and later returned to earth.

Soviet cosmonaut Aleksey Leonov was the first man the world to make a space walk (March 1965). Since then Soviet cosmonauts have made more than 20 successful space walks, their total duration exceeding 100 hours.

Further on 'Energiya'-'Buran' News Conference

PM0812151788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[A. Nemov report: "Will the Launch Be Soon?"]

[Text] The conversation at the news conference that took place on 6 December at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center concerned the problems that had to be resolved by Soviet scientists and designers in the creation of the "Energiya"-"Buran" universal space rocket system. The people who had created the space technology also discussed prospects for utilizing the new system.

Yu. Semenov, chief designer of the reusable spacecraft:

"More than one version was made of 'Buran,' which successfully completed its orbital flight on 15 November. We have several more spacecraft in varying degrees of

readiness. 'Buran' itself is ready to be used a second time. We could carry out this launch in the next few months, but there is no necessity for this. We obtained everything that we planned to get from the first flight. After analyzing its results in detail and interpreting the enormous volume of scientific information, we will adjust our future program. At the beginning of 1989 we will report whether the next flight will once again be completely automatic or whether a cosmonaut-pilot will be at the helm.

"Two more landing strips are being built for 'Buran,' one in the area of Simferopol and the other in the country's eastern regions."

B. Gubanov, chief designer of the "Energiya" space rocket system:

"'Energiya' is capable of putting into orbit a payload of more than 100 tonnes. With this commercial load its flights will be highly profitable and more economical than even flights by existing launchers. It is possible to create new rocket systems on the basis of 'Energiya' which are capable of sending a manned craft to Mars.

"In the future I also see the creation of aviation-class reusable spacecraft launched from earth which retain all their elements during the flight and landing."

A. Dunayev, chief of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology:

"Recently firms from many countries have been showing interest in the various classes of Soviet space rocket systems. In particular, we have received a proposal from a group of Australian companies to build a cosmodrome on that continent and to use Soviet 'Proton' launchers. Taking into account the geographical position of this cosmodrome, it could be possible to send heavier satellites with this launcher into geostationary orbit. Preliminary talks are currently in progress."

IZVESTIYA Interviews 'Buran' Designer

PM0712153588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Yu. Semenov, chief designer of reusable spacecraft, by scientific observer B. Konovalov, under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Why Do We Need 'Buran?'"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Yuriy Pavlovich Semenov was born in 1935. He graduated from Dnepropetrovsk State University. He began his production activity in a design bureau under the leadership of M.K. Yangel. Then he moved to S.P. Korolev's design bureau. He is now deputy general designer of Academician V.P. Glushko's "Energiya" science and production association and the chief designer of "Buran" and of manned space ships and stations. Yu.P. Semenov is a Hero of Socialist Labor, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Lenin and State Prize winner.

[Konovalov] "Buran" is undoubtedly an outstanding scientific and technical achievement. But any project should be comprehensively justified. If you leave aside the question of load capacity, then functionally only one innovation has been accomplished—it is now possible to bring back loads, and quite large loads, from orbit. At the same time the majority of satellites during the time of their operation, and that time is now up to 5 years, become obsolete and it would be pointless to use them again after repair. What seems to you to be the justified sphere for "Buran's" use?

[Semenov] The return to earth of satellites which have come to the end of their useful life for repeat launching or simply their recovery from orbit in connection with unpredicted failures is only one of the tasks the "Buran" space craft can carry out. It is hard to expect any particular "rich pickings" here if you consider that, as you rightly note, satellites become obsolete with the passage of time. As a rule the launching of the "Energiya-Buran" complex for this purpose alone is indeed economically disadvantageous. That applies primarily to standard, large-series satellites like communications, meteorological, and other satellites. But in individual cases the return to earth of a unique and very expensive research complex may be extremely important. Of course, the recovery of faulty satellites with nuclear devices will always be justified because otherwise the radioactive pollution of the earth's atmosphere and surface is possible.

Nonetheless we regard the task of bringing back a satellite as one that is resolved incidentally, while the main task is to launch expensive spacecraft equipped with unique scientific instruments—for instance a large optical telescope with complex electronic equipment. Projects requiring the creation in orbit of large-scale radio telescopes, antenna systems, solar orbital power stations, and interplanetary complexes, that is extremely expensive installations created singly and requiring servicing by manipulators, robots, and skilled specialists. Naturally, it is sensible to put all this in space in a single journey.

The "Buran" space ship can also be used in individual instances as a space scientific research laboratory during whose flight an in-depth study of the efficiency of any very important complex of apparatus can be carried out so that when it returns to earth its development can be continued under conditions of total clarity. A whole series of modifications to the design and systems of manned space craft emerged thanks to cosmonauts who observed them in orbit, worked with them in space, and repaired them during the flight process. With the emergence of the "Buran" space ship it is possible to apply this valuable experience to unmanned near-earth craft as well.

When in 1986 it was decided to raise the orbit of the "Salyut-7"-"Cosmos-1686" complex, which had been operating for 5 years, for prolonged operating life tests [resursnyye ispytaniya] in automatic mode, even then an option was examined for using the "Buran" space ship to return individual units of the station to earth in the period 1995-2000. This operation will give specialists truly priceless data on the behavior of the structure, materials, and apparatus. This measure alone may more than replace all ground-based studies which are now being carried out in this direction and produce an enormous saving.

That is just a number of the tasks it is planned to carry out using the "Buran" space ship.

[Konovalov] "Buran" can raise 30 tonnes in its payload bay to an altitude of 250 km. But the same thing can essentially be done with the aid of two "Proton" rocket launches, docking in space the payload they have put in orbit. That will be far cheaper than using the more powerful and expensive "Energiya" rocket. At last year's congress of the International Astronautical Federation, O.N. Shishkin, the spokesman for the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building, stated that in the opinion of Soviet specialists there is no sense in using reusable space ships to put freight in orbit—single use rockets are preferable from the economic viewpoint. Has the position of Soviet specialists not changed?

[Semenov] Fundamentally the position of Soviet specialists has not changed apart from those aspects we have already mentioned. This viewpoint is based on the cost of putting one kilogram of freight in orbit. The question of reducing this cost remains very topical. It is no secret that in our country and abroad one kilogram of freight put in orbit costs thousands of rubles (and thousands of dollars). And the "Energiya" booster rocket is no exception to the rule. So far only the space craft is reusable in the "Energiya-Buran" complex. The rocket strap-ons [raketnyye bloki] are used only once, and this makes each launch considerably more expensive. That is why work is now under way to salvage the strap-ons and reuse them, but here it should be noted that bringing the booster rocket to the point where it can be used repeatedly is a complex and expensive task. The recovery of expenditure on this work depends to a considerable extent on the anticipated frequency of the launches of the "Energiya" booster rocket in the future. A no less important question is the reliability of the returned strap-ons. U.S. specialists have advanced somewhat further in this field (in the "Space Shuttle" system they salvage the solid-fuel accelerators) and, as their experience has shown, reuse requires expensive work, which virtually cancels out the saving.

So far means of putting objects into orbit that are used only once are cheaper. That is why it is planned to build our space program on a sensible combination of methods of orbital insertion. Alongside the "Energiya-Buran" complex it is planned to use single-use rockets in the future too.

In contrast to us, U.S. specialists use the "Space Shuttle" system as the main means in all cases of orbital insertion. This is done because there is no way out of using it, as the main funds were in the past concentrated on developing this system and cheaper single-use methods of orbital insertion were underestimated. Their development was suspended. Today this decision has been recognized as erroneous and the production of single-use "Delta-2" rockets has been organized.

Having at their disposal means of orbital insertion of varying capacity and operations for automatic docking in orbit, Soviet specialists can implement virtually any projects requiring the creation of large space vehicles. The project now under discussion for a manned expedition to Mars with a mass of over 450 tonnes can serve as an example. It is planned to assemble the interplanetary spacecraft in the earth's orbit from individual units put into orbit by the "Energiya" rocket with the participation of the "Buran" space ship.

[Konovalov] The altitude of "Buran's" basic [opornaya] orbit is 250 km. Long-term orbital stations, like "Mir," for instance, work at higher orbits—in the order of 450 km. That means that to dock with the station it is necessary, in addition to 14 tonnes of fuel, to have additional tanks. They can be made only at the expense of the payload. How much then will remain of the 30 tonnes of potential payload if "Buran" has to rise to an altitude of 450 km?

[Semenov] Naturally, one of "Buran's" main tasks is to service orbital stations and individual satellites whose operational orbits can be quite high—450 km and more. "Buran" has this potential, including the necessary fuel tank capacities. Indeed, the maximum capacity of the tanks is 14 tonnes. Here, when it is necessary to put a payload with a mass of less than 30 tonnes in a basic orbit of 250 km at an angle of 51.6 degrees the fueling is 8 tonnes. With 14 tonnes of fuel the "Buran" can carry out orbital transfers up to altitudes of 450 km with a payload mass of 27 tonnes. When it is necessary to increase altitudes to 800-1,000 km, the possibility is envisaged of providing "Buran" with fuel tanks with an additional capacity of 14 tonnes of fuel.

[Konovalov] "Buran" is a freight and passenger ship, with the same function as the "Soyuz." But after all just one of "Energiya's" four "side boosters" ["bokovushki"] can put 12 tonnes of payload in orbit. This makes it possible to create a new transport ship 5 tonnes lighter than the "Soyuz," which would have a sufficient fuel reserve for maneuvering and could carry more freight, and its launch would be immeasurably cheaper. Will the result not be that, by creating "Buran," we will be "using cannon to shoot sparrows?"

[Semenov] Indeed, the "side boosters," as you call them, were created on the basis of a series booster rocket. And we see in the future the possibility of creating a space ship purely for freight based on this booster, which

should replace the present "Progress." We propose almost halving the cost of the delivery of one kilogram of freight to the station by this space ship compared with "Progress." But I think this solution should be regarded as a temporary one, until the appearance of a reusable freight and passenger complex (a reusable booster unit and space ship) smaller than the "Energiya-Buran" system.

It is technically impossible to create a reusable freight and passenger complex of the required size on the basis of one "Energiya" "side booster." And in my opinion it is economically inexpedient to produce something similar to the "Soyuz" but of larger size.

The question of creating a freight and passenger complex, as reusable as possible, for regularly servicing orbital stations is a topical one today and is being examined both in our country and abroad—in the United States, France, and Japan.

To service the "Mir" station we have today the "Progress" and "Soyuz" space ships which are so far considerably cheaper than existing reusable means. "Buran" can take part in individual experimental operations together with the "Mir" station. That is part of our plans.

[Konovalov] Initial U.S. expenditure alone on the "Space Shuttle" project were in excess of $10 billion. What is our expenditure? And when can we expect the "Energiya-Buran" space complex to justify the funds invested? Thanks to which scientific and technical avenues can this happen?

[Semenov] Expenditure on the creation of the "Energiya-Buran" system cannot be compared with the cost of the "Space Shuttle" program. It is indisputable that these complexes outwardly have a lot in common. But here it must be stressed that the "Energiya-Buran" system has a number of technical advantages compared with the U.S. system and was created using our own engineering solutions, materials, and technologies. This should be viewed not only as a very big step in cosmonautics. Although all these developments were made with regard to this system, their use in daily life can already bring our national economy revenue running into many billions and considerably in excess of expenditure on space research.

For instance, the electrochemical generators of the module type using ecologically clean components (hydrogen-oxygen) could have the most varied application and heat insulation materials working at temperatures of up to 1,500-1,600 degrees are dozens of times more effective than any others. Manufacturing processes for the production of structures from various new materials, including cellular composites reducing the structures' weight 50-70 percent, and promising beryllium, titanium, and nickel alloys could be widely introduced.

The methods developed for testing complex technical systems, the universal highly reliable computer complexes, and methods of developing and debugging software must not be underestimated. We must also not underestimate the importance of effective methods of automatic diagnosis and precision systems for measuring physical parameters, and television systems for displaying and recording information with a high degree of resolution and sensitivity. All this has been done at a world standard.

In addition to economic expediency, the equipping of our aircraft with all-weather landing facilities, the introduction of remote control and guidance facilities using communications channels via relay satellites for all types of transport, and the use in atomic power engineering of a computer control complex with a built-in diagnosis system will make it possible to rid ourselves of many ordeals and potential tragedies. And these are just a few examples of the "incidental" use of the achievements obtained during the development of the "Energiya-Buran" complex.

[Konovalov] You form the impression that "Buran" will be vitally necessary only with the appearance of large orbital stations and space factories, when it will be necessary to set up a large-scale freight flow from earth to space and back to earth and to transport many people. Am I wrong?

[Semenov] Yes, in our country and abroad research is being carried out most seriously in connection with the study of the possibility of organizing in orbit the production of materials in the interests of various sectors of industry and of biological preparations for medicine with properties that cannot be obtained under conditions on earth. It seems to me that this work will produce tangible results as early as the next decade. All this work is connected with a large-scale freight flow from earth to space and back to earth. And the "Buran" space ship is irreplaceable for bringing back to earth the output from these production facilities.

It should be noted that the orbital complexes of the future will undoubtedly include unique instruments, large, complex framework structures and power systems whose deployment is inconceivable without the participation of the "Buran" space ship in this work.

"Buran's" shipment only of people to orbital complexes is hardly likely ever to be expedient.

But, as has already been noted, "Buran" also has independent tasks unconnected with the servicing of future orbital stations.

[Konovalov] The "Energiya" rocket opens up scope for creating large satellites and orbital and interplanetary stations. But it raises very keenly the question of the cost

of space projects. Evidently a sensible way out of the situation is international cooperation. Are you prepared to offer the international community the shared use of the "Energiya" rocket?

[Semenov] You are right, "Energiya" opens up truly boundless opportunities for developing space. But it is also well known that further headway is being held back by the large expenditure which cannot be avoided in taking on a particular project.

All more or less simple tasks which required relatively small expenditure have already been carried out. The projects of the future undoubtedly demand the involvement of the world community's scientific and technical potential. Implementing individual projects through the efforts of just one country, however wealthy, is inconceivable. For instance, take the implementation of a manned expedition to Mars or the organization of direct communications for every inhabitant of earth at any corner of the earth. This solution of this problem is connected with the need to put into stationary orbits multiton relay satellites equipped with large receiving and transmitting antennae many meters wide. With the appearance of the "Energiya" booster rocket the launching of such satellites has become perfectly feasible. But international cooperation on a shared basis is essential to produce hundreds of millions of ground-based autonomous portable radiotelephone apparatuses. Dozens of such projects can be enumerated. I think the international situation today makes it possible to look with optimism on the creation of worldwide cooperation.

We are in favor of space becoming an arena for peaceful international cooperation and we are ready to make the "Energiya-Buran" complex available for worldwide use.

Military

FRG Navy on New Soviet Nuclear-Powered Cruiser

LD0912103688 Hamburg DPA in German 0914 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Flensburg (DPA)—The Soviet Union has put another nuclear-powered missile cruiser into service, the Federal naval fleet command in Gluecksburg reported today. The ship, named "Kalinin," was sighted in November on test sails in the Baltic Sea, west of Libau-Latvia.

According to the German naval headquarters, the Soviet ship belongs to the same class as the 250 meter-long cruisers "Kirov" and "Frunze". The ships have a maximum speed of 35 knots and displace approximately 25,000 tons of water. They are thus "considerably larger than even the largest Western missile cruisers." Each ship has a crew of about 800 men.

The new Soviet cruisers carry as their main weapons ship-to-ship missiles with a range of approximately 560 km, according to the findings of the Federal Navy. Various types of ground-to-air missiles were on board for air defense. Several shipborne helicopters, in addition, are among the equipment carried.

According to Western observers, the cruisers are not meant for deployment in the Baltic Sea. It is believed that the "Kalinin" too will leave the Baltic Sea after completing its "run in program" and that it will strengthen the Soviet North Sea or Pacific Fleets.

Sajudis' Influence on Baltic Draftees Noted

PM0712165388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Major Yu. Rubtsov report under the rubric "Draft Time": "Come Back as Men!"]

[Text] Vilnius—In our dispatches from Lithuania we have barely mentioned how the situation prevailing here has affected servicemen doing their military service and the population's attitude to the servicemen's fulfillment of their duties. This was probably wrong. After all, the Armed Forces draft currently under way, for instance, can tell us a great deal, among other things, about the stability of the positive processes in the republic. Major General V. Sein, first deputy chief of the Baltic Military District Political Directorate, particularly emphasized this point in his conversation with me.

To date more than half the draft contingent has been dispatched to units, Vladimir Ivanovich said, and there has not been a single objector. The send-offs into the Army are also taking place in an organized fashion on the whole, both in the capital of the republic and at the local level.

[Rubtsov] Is this not what you would expect?

The point is, Major General Sein explains, that some time ago the "Sajudis" put out a thesis about the "amorality" of military service. True, this claim is no longer being repeated openly, but, you will agree, it cannot but have left a negative imprint on the minds of young people and their parents. In addition, few people have not been affected by the case of Private A. Sakalauskas, which was covered in the central press, who as a result of nonregulation relations shot a number of his fellow servicemen who had been mocking him. This, too, has affected the mood of those about to don the military uniform and that of their relatives and friends.

Yes, all this is happening, as we were able to see for ourselves at the republic Military Commissariat's muster center. However, we also saw something else: After a day or two most of the draftees forget their unfounded worries. This is largely due to a strict regulation routine combined with the friendliness of the staff at the muster center.

For several years now the reception of draftees has taken place in Vilnius in a spacious, well-equipped building. Medical workers no longer have to work in cramped conditions, as they once did. There is a spacious canteen, a tea room, and a sports and a movie hall, as well as a room for meeting parents. Lieutenant Colonel S. Ulevichus, who is showing me around, explains that in the new building, unlike in the former one, it has been possible to smoothly organize the whole routine that draftees must undergo from bathing and disinfection to the dispatch of teams to the station.

Our attention focuses on a class in which psychological and physiological tests are carried out. We have never come across this at other muster centers.

The professional selection is carried out by rayon military commissariats from the moment when those who are coming up for the draft come to register, Lt Col Ulevichus explains. Here we carry out verification inspections of those being sent into the Navy or the various groups of forces.

[Rubtsov] What are your results?

[Ulevichus] Methods elaborated with the help of Leningrad scientists make it possible to differentiate inspections.

In some draftees we expose nervous and psychological instability. In this way we are able to defuse "time bombs"—nervous breakdowns and stress reactions, and hence also the breeding ground for those nonregulation relations. On the basis of psychologists' advice, these youths are assigned to a different type of service.

In what sort of a mood are you embarking on your service, I asked draftees L. Vaynauskas, D. Ganutis, and S. Alyukonis, all of Trakayskiy Rayon.

Lenas eagerly replies for all of them.

And Daryus adds: Our parents have told us to do our service conscientiously.

Officer A. Tymchuk, who has come from the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany to get reinforcements, praises the draftees' attitude.

And as for the draftees' parents, what do they think? Irena and Rimantas Ulinskas from Kaunas are seeing off their second son, Rimantas, into the Army. Their elder son is already serving and has recently been promoted to sergeant.

It would be nice, of course, if Rimantas' unit were not too far from home, Irena says hopefully.

It would, her husband agrees with her, but that is the luck of the draw. And in general the Army is good for our boys.

I was all the more pleased to hear these level-headed thoughts because I had been told by Military Commissariat staff that there are still parents who would like to shield their sons from military service, or at least to have them stationed as close to home as possible.

In this context I can't help recalling a conversation during a recent visit to military units by local media correspondents. In my opinion a remark made by Sergeant Audryus Sigitas sounds very convincing:

The Army has given me an opportunity to prove myself in unfamiliar circumstances; it has made a man of me.

Akhromeyev, Others Sign Lt Gen Shutov Obituary

PM0812115988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of V.P. Shutov]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Viktor Petrovich Shutov has died after a serious illness. He devoted his entire adult life to selfless service to the socialist motherland, the Soviet people, and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he had been a member since 1956.

V.P. Shutov was born in 1936 in the city of Magnitogorsk. He graduated from a combined-arms command school, commanded subunits, a regiment, and a combined unit, and was chief of staff of a large strategic formation. Having graduated from the USSR Armed Forces General Staff K.Ye. Voroshilov Military Academy, he held responsible command-staff posts in the forces. [passage omitted]

D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, M.I. Sorokin, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, I.M. Voloshin, A.N. Kolinichenko, A.N. Kleymenov, M.A. Moiseyev, A.I. Voronin, V.I. Novozhilov, V.P. Kovalev, N.F. Kizyun.

Obituary of Military Medical Directorate Chief

WA1801027288 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Article entitled: "R.S. Abdrashitov"]

[Text] Ramis Sadikhovich Abdrashitov, major general of medical services, has passed away following a serious illness. Abdrashitov was deputy chief of the Central Military Medical Directorate, USSR Ministry of Defense; honored physician of the Lithuanian SSR; candidate of medical sciences; and GDR doctor of medicine. He devoted his entire conscious life to serving the socialist homeland and the cause of the Communist Party, the ranks of which he joined in 1962.

R. S. Abdrashitov was born in 1934 to a worker's family. After completing the Military Medical Academy imeni S.M. Kirov in 1964, he served in the forces. He was

senior physician of a motorized rifle regiment, commander of a medical training battalion, and medical service chief of a large unit and a formation. He headed the medical service in the Siberian and Baltic Military Districts, and in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. In 1987 he was named deputy chief of the Central Military Medical Directorate. In these positions R.S. Abdrashitov made a great contribution to preserving and strengthening the health of soldiers.

An experienced organizer of military medicine, a principled communist, and a sensitive and sympathetic comrade has left us.

The bright memory of Ramis Sadikhovich Abdrashitov will be preserved forever in our hearts.

D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, I.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, A.I. Sorokin, V.S. Nechayev, V.V. Snetkov, N.A. Moiseyev, V.I. Litvinov, I.M. Golushko, V.P. Timonin, B.A. Kopytov, F.I. Komarov, I.V. Sinopalnikov, V.P. Khrobostov, P.O. Vyazitskiy, V.A. Pribytkov.